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Miniature des *Chroniques de Charles VII*

(Bibl. nat. Mss. fr. 2691)

Margaret of Scotland & the Dauphin Louis

AN HISTORICAL STUDY
Based mainly on Original Documents preserved in the Bibliotheque nationale

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BY

LOUIS A. BARBÉ
Officier d'Académie
Author of "The Tragedy of Gowrie House"
"In Byways of Scottish History" &c.

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TO

JAMES FULTON, Esq.

"The Glen", Paisley

IN TOKEN OF A LONG FRIENDSHIP

AND

IN REMEMBRANCE OF MANY
PLEASANT DAYS

Preface

There is perhaps no sadder instance in history of the miserable sequel to a loveless union, contracted between two children for mere reasons of State policy, than is afforded by the marriage of the Princess Margaret of Scotland, daughter of King James I, with the Dauphin Louis, son of King Charles VII of France. And the incident is further noteworthy by reason of the protracted negotiations which preceded it and which throw considerable light on the relations that existed between Scotland and France at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In spite of the twofold interest that attaches to it, this Franco-Scottish marriage has attracted but little attention in either of the countries with whose history it is connected. In neither of them has it been made the subject of special study. The present monograph aims at supplying that deficiency. It is the outcome of an endeavour to utilize the materials gathered, not only from contemporary chronicles, but also from the manuscripts preserved in the national and departmental collections of France, and to shape them into a consecutive narrative containing a detailed account of the embassies to Scotland and to France, together with as much of the personal story of the unfortunate Princess as can be recovered after the lapse of five centuries.

The documents available for this double purpose are, in the first place, the letters between Charles VII and James I, dealing with the renewal of the "old alliance", the proposed

marriage of Margaret and Louis, and the cession of the province of Saintonge to the King of Scots. The originals are amongst the State Papers in the Archives nationales.

Of no less importance, and of even greater general interest, is the account which one of the French ambassadors to Scotland has left of his journey and of his mission. This narrative, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, has never been published.

The Bibliothèque nationale also possesses the sworn testimony of the witnesses who were called upon to give evidence with regard to the circumstances attending the death of the Dauphiness. Portions of it were printed by Duclos, in his *Histoire de Louis XI*, a work which appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century and which is not easily accessible in this country. To obtain a complete report of the enquiry, a copy of the depositions omitted by him has been procured. The documents belonging to each of those three classes have been thought of sufficient historical value to justify the inclusion of numerous and copious extracts from them in the foot-notes that accompany the text.

For copies, not only of the manuscripts here referred to, but also of numerous papers of lesser importance that have been similarly utilized, the author has to acknowledge his indebtedness to M. Léon Dorez, LL.D. (St. Andrews), Bibliothécaire au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale and one of the joint-editors of the *Chronique de Morosini*. His help, always readily given, has been invaluable. Grateful thanks are also tendered to him for the indication of matter, both manuscript and printed, of which his knowledge of the period recognized the utility.

L. A. B.

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MARGARET OF SCOTLAND AND THE DAUPHIN LOUIS

I

The State of France in 1428

King Charles VII is known in French history as the Victorious. During the early years of his reign, neither the administration of the fragment of country that acknowledged his rule, nor his conduct of the war that had come down to him as a disastrous heritage from his four immediate predecessors, afforded any indication of his ever deserving so proud a surname.

On the 31st of August, 1422, Henry V, the triumphant invader of France, had died at Vincennes. Before his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, death had also closed the lamentable reign of Charles VI of France. When the body of the demented king had been lowered into the royal vault at Saint-Denis, and after the ushers had snapped their rods and cast them into the open grave, Berri, King-at-arms, uttered over it the accus-

tomed formula: "May God deign to have pity and mercy on the soul of most excellent, most high and most mighty prince, Charles, King of France, sixth of the name, our natural and sovereign lord". Then he raised his voice a second time to invoke the divine blessing on the new monarch: "God grant a prosperous life to Henry, by the grace of God King of France and of England, our sovereign lord".

The king who had thus been solemnly proclaimed was an infant but a few months old, the son of Henry V of England, and, through his mother Catherine of France, grandson of Charles VI. But his birth gave him no right to the French crown. Those by whom the claim was put forward on his behalf based it on the iniquitous treaty of Troyes, which had been concluded two years previously, and in terms of which the Dauphin, who was still in arms and refused to recognize it, was excluded from the inheritance, whilst Henry V, after marrying Catherine, was to act as regent of France during the life of the king and to succeed him on the throne after his death.[1]

When the victor of Agincourt understood that he was never to wear the crown for which he had fought and wooed; but that his decrepit and im-

[1] "Pourquoy est assés par manière de mémoire que certain appointctement entre le roy Henry, roy d'Angleterre, en luy baillant pour espouse madame Katherine, fille d'icellui roy de France, c'est assavoir que se il survivoit le roy de France, devoit succéder à la couronne de France, et sy non et il laissoit aucun hoir masle de sa dite espouse, après le déceps dudit roy de France, se ledit enfant vivoit il seroit roy de France, en déboutant de tous pointz Monseigneur le Daulphin, vray héritier naturel dudit royaulme." (Jean Chartier: *Chronique de Charles VII*, vol. i, pp. 27–8.)

becile father-in-law, in spite of the difference in their years, appeared to be destined to outlive him, he hastily made such arrangements as seemed best suited to secure for his infant son the possession of the two kingdoms. After having besought his brother Bedford to watch over the interests of the heir to the double crown, he advised him to offer the regency of France to their ally, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, whose friendship and active support it was essential to retain; but at the same time, he desired him to assume the high but difficult office himself, if the duke should decline to accept it.

Within less than a month after the death of Charles VI, Philip having waived his claim, the Duke of Bedford took over the conduct of affairs, in conformity with his brother's dying injunctions. On the 19th of November he summoned a meeting of the Parliament, or High Court of Justiciary, of Paris. The leading supporters of the English party were present at the assembly. They included the Presidents of the High Court, the Bishop of Paris, the Rector of the University, representatives of the clergy and delegates of the municipality. They were addressed by the Chancellor, who, in a carefully prepared discourse, reminded his hearers that the so-called Dauphin Charles had forfeited his right to the crown of France by reason of his complicity in the horrible and detestable murder of John the Fearless, at the bridge of Montereau; assured them that the Duke of Bedford's sole and sincere wish was to administer the affairs of the country justly and peace-

ably; and, in conclusion, called upon them to bind themselves by a solemn oath on the Scriptures, to a faithful observance of the treaty of Troyes.[1]

When Bedford assumed the regency of France, the conquest of the kingdom was already more than half achieved. The English held positions that practically gave them the command of Normandy in the north, and of Guyenne and Gascony in the south. They occupied Reims, the coronation-city of the French kings, and Paris, their capital, upon the possession of which Bedford had declared the tenure of the whole realm to depend. Through their ally the Duke of Burgundy, they held the provinces of Artois, Flanders, Picardy, and Champagne. Their command of the greater part of the French seaboard enabled them to land with ease the supplies of men and ammunition which were sent from the home ports, and which Charles had no navy to intercept. They had already reached the banks of the Loire, and there seemed to be no power that could check their further progress to the very heart of the kingdom.

The English also possessed an immense advantage in the efficiency and the discipline of their well-trained army. It consisted of companies organized and commanded by captains who were directly responsible to the royal lieutenant from whom they took their orders. The men who composed them, though mercenaries in respect of the manner of their enlistment, were not aliens. They fought from higher

[1] Lavisse: *Histoire de France*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 1.

motives than the hope of booty; and even those whose patriotism was least sturdy were maintained in their fidelity by the knowledge that the sea, which cut off their retreat homewards, rendered desertion practically impossible. The army, though not numerous, was not inadequate. Except when an undertaking of unusual magnitude demanded the combined efforts of a large body of troops, it was scattered over the country for the purpose of holding the captured fortresses; and the methods of mediæval warfare did not require their garrisons to be of imposing strength. The defence of Cherbourg was considered to be sufficiently provided for by a force of a hundred and sixty men; the safe-keeping of Rouen was entrusted to seventy-five; whilst in Evreux only twelve were quartered.[1]

Charles VII had no regular army to oppose to the English invaders. He had called out the ban and the rear-ban, but the result had been in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The nobles knew how powerless he was to enforce obedience, and none but those who were attracted by the excitement and the adventure of a military life answered his summons. Of such there were but few, for the disastrous reign of Charles VI had quenched warlike enthusiasm, and a contemporary writer represents the greater part of the nobility as unwilling to go ten leagues afield to defend the country or even their own homes.[2] The

[1] Lavisse: *ut supra*, p. 5.

[2] "Il y en a la plus grant partie qui, pour deffendre la terre et eulx-mesmes, ne se povent partir de jouste leurs femmes pour aller à dix ou douze lieues." (*Les XV Joyes de Mariage, Trezieme Joye.*)

companies of archers and crossbowmen supplied by the towns were but little utilized, and it was mainly on the foreign mercenaries in its service that the national party depended to continue the struggle with the English.[1] Amongst the best of those auxiliary troops were those which Scotland had supplied. A first contingent of them, from eight to nine thousand strong, had come over in 1420, under the command of the Earl of Buchan; and in the following year the Earl of Douglas had brought reinforcements that nearly doubled the number of the Scottish auxiliaries. It was with their assistance that the Dauphin's army defeated the English at Beaugé in 1421. But their presence did not ensure victory for the French either at Cravant, in 1423, or at Verneuil, in 1424. It was after those two defeats, of which the latter was particularly disastrous, that Charles VII once again, and as a last and desperate resource, determined to appeal to his ally, though a lull in the English offensive allowed him to postpone his further request for support until the memory of their losses was a little less vivid in the minds of the Scots.

At this time the condition of the country, after years of civil strife and of foreign invasion, was indeed lamentable. Bazin, Bishop of Lisieux, a writer of exceptional knowledge and unquestioned authority, has given an account of the ferocity which, on both sides alike, characterized the warfare of the period. At every opportunity the men-at-arms of either party made raids into the territories of their opponents,

[1] Lavisse: *Histoire de France*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 29.

and returned dragging after them the miserable inhabitants of the fields, whom they kept as prisoners in their strongholds or their camps. The wretched captives were cast into dark dungeons, or confined in caves, like wild beasts, until the money fixed for their ransom was paid. Those that were unable to raise the amount demanded by their jailers were often left to die of hunger, or of loathsome diseases engendered by their filthy surroundings. Some of them even expired amidst the tortures to which they were subjected for the purpose of extorting from them exorbitant sums which it was quite beyond their means to pay.[1]

"Letters of remission" have come down to us that not only confirm the accounts given by the chroniclers, but also show that the deeds of violence described by them were not merely the excesses of military adventurers and soldiers of fortune who looked upon rapine as a legitimate part of their profession, but were also perpetrated without scruple

[1] "Per utriusque enim partis armatos, qui assidue alii in aliorum terminos incursabant, captivi rustici ad castra et munitiones ducebantur, ut tetris clausi carceribus et in specubus retrusi, atque etiam variis cruciatibus et tormentis affecti, sese quanta pecuniarum summa ab eis consequi sperabatur redimerent. Erat in foveis et specubus castrorum et turrium invenire pauperes colonos ex agris abductos, interdum in una fovea centum, interdumque ducentas, et alibi quidem plus, alibi minus, secundum quod vel major vel minor prædonum numerus illic aderat; quorum quidem sæpe magnus numerus, eorum quibus possibile non erat petitas ab eis summas atque requisitas persolvere, nullam in eos misericordiam prædonibus habentibus, fame, inedia et carceris squalore necabantur. In cruciatibus vero et tormentis, sibi ad extorquendum summas poposcitas, quibus se redimerent, adhibitis sæpe deficiebant. Tanta rabies avaritiæ et crudelitatis animis prædonum insederat, ut nulla prorsus miseratione in pauperes ac supplices moverentur; quin imo, instar sævissimarum bestiarum, in innocentes ac supplices agrorum cultores sævire delectabat plerosque ex ipsis prædonibus." (Bazin: *Histoire de Charles VII*, lib. ii, cap. vi.)

by men who held high and responsible offices, and whose exceptional culture placed them on a level far higher than that of the rude soldiery. One of those documents embodies the confession of no less a personage than the historian Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Provost of Cambrai and of Walincourt, and Governor of Frenach. He had lain in wait for a convoy of merchants, and had plundered them of four or five hundred gold crowns. It happened, however, that his victims belonged to a friendly town. Having recognized the leader of the band that had despoiled them, they made complaint of the treatment they had met with at the hands of the man whose duty it was to protect them. To avoid the penalties incurred by him Monstrelet presented a petition to the Regent in Council, pleading in extenuation of his act that he had been deceived by his informants, and had taken the merchants to be Armagnacs, and therefore subject to such involuntary contribution as he had levied from them. In consequence of the good and acceptable services rendered by him to his party, the untoward mistake was overlooked and officially condoned.[1]

But the depredations which were committed by the belligerents, and which each party looked upon as the natural and permissible means of distressing and subduing the enemy, were productive of evils still more appalling. Throughout entire provinces the country had become a wilderness. Nowhere but

[1] Lettres de Rémission accordées par Henri VI, roi d'Angleterre à Enguerran de Monstrelet. (*La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, vol. i, pp. 405 *et seq.*)

in the immediate neighbourhood of a castle or of a fortified town were any traces of cultivation to be seen; and even there, it was carried on under the most precarious and discouraging conditions. It is reported by Bazin that, whenever the husbandmen ventured out into the fields, a watchman was stationed on the nearest tower or commanding eminence, that he might give notice of the approach of foraging parties. The sound of his horn or of his bell had become so familiar and its meaning was so well understood, that even the cattle hurried homewards when they heard its warning.[1] From the more remote districts many of the despairing inhabitants had fled. In the greater number of cases, misery drove them to crime. They betook themselves to woods, mountains, quarries, and caverns, from which they issued, frequently in organized bands, to add the horrors of brigandage to those of warfare. They swept over the land, says the chronicler of St.-Denys, with the fury of a tempest; their only thought was of plunder, fire, and bloodshed. There were districts in which they made the roads so unsafe that communication was kept up by water only. In vain were the severest measures put in force against the

[1] "Si quid tunc in dictis terris colebatur, id solum fiebat in ambitu et continentibus locis civitatum, oppidorum seu castellorum, ad tantam distantiam, quantam de turri vel specula alta speculatoris oculus prædones incursantes intueri et spectare potuisset; qui vel campanæ tinnitu, vel venatoris aut alio cornu dans sonitum, per hoc ad munitum se recipiendi locum cunctis, qui tum in agris agerent vel vineis, signum dabat. Quod tam assidue et frequenter in quamplurimis fiebat locis, ut, cum boves et jumenta aratoria ab aratro solverentur, audientes speculatoris signum, illico absque ductore ad sua tuta refugia, ex longa assuefactione edocta, cursu rapido velut exterrita accurerent; quod et oves atque porci similiter facere consueverant." (Bazin: *op. cit.*, lib. ii, cap. 1.)

outlaws, in vain was a price set on each head, in vain were they tracked with hounds and hunted down like wild beasts, in vain were ten thousand of them put to death, in Normandy alone, in the course of one year.[1] So long as the war that produced them lasted, their numbers appear to have been undiminished and their outrages irrepressible.

Even in the largest towns the condition of the population was hardly less intolerable than that of the peasantry. In Paris the number of the inhabitants was so reduced that twenty-four thousand houses stood empty. The poverty of the people was such that although rents had decreased by two-thirds landlords experienced the greatest difficulty in finding solvent tenants. The property belonging to Notre-Dame had become so unproductive that the Chapter was obliged to sell the gold and silver plate of the Cathedral. The Hôtel-Dieu and the Leper House of Saint-Lazare were closed from lack of funds.[2] Men, women, and children lay down and died in the streets, where their bodies were left to become the prey of wolves that found their way into the city at night.

Such was the condition of the "pays de conquête", of those parts of the country of which the English were the masters and which had given their allegiance to the invader. Even in those provinces of France

[1] "Feruntur aliquando in anno uno in Normannia, variis in locis ac judicum tribunalibus, tam de ipsis quam de eorumdem receptatoribus, quibus non dissimile judicium reddebatur, publico judicio, vel capite plexi vel patibulis affixi ultra decem millia." (Bazin: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i, lib. ii, cap. vi, p. 60.)

[2] Lavisse: *Histoire de France*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 11.

which still remained unsubdued, the authority of Charles VII, or the King of Bourges as he was derisively called, after the town that had become the capital of his diminished dominions, was hardly more than nominal. Many of the nobles who should have been his supporters availed themselves of his helplessness to make themselves practically independent. In the words of a contemporary chronicler, it had become a maxim in the land of France, that each might take to himself as much as he could conquer and defend.[1]

Within the Court itself Charles was wholly in the power of the unscrupulous parasites who, by humouring his indolence, had ingratiated themselves into his favour, and who cynically availed themselves of his weakness to satisfy their greed. Careless prodigality on his part and unsatiable cupidity on theirs reduced him, at times, to a state of penury which it is difficult to realize. One after another his crown jewels and even the gold ornaments of his helmet were pledged. Loans were obtained, not only from chapters and municipalities, but even from the meanest servants of the household. Whilst the King was reduced to the necessity of getting new sleeves put to his old doublets, his consort gratefully accepted gifts of the most necessary linen from the loyal inhabitants of Tours.[2] The wife of the treasurer Boulligny testi-

[1] Ayrolles: *Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii, p. 60.

[2] On the 6th of February, 1428, the Town Council decided that "cent ou six vingt livres seroient mises et employez en deux bacins d'argent à laver les mains, qui seront donnez et presentez à la Royne, ou en linge, pour ce que par le capitaine a esté sceu que ce sont les choses dont elle a plus grant nécessité". On the 9th of February the inhabitants presented the Queen with "quatre tablier de fin lin, en une pièce chascune de cinq aulnes de long et cinq quartiers

fied that, on one occasion remembered by her, all the funds which her husband and his royal master could produce between them amounted to four crowns;[1] and Martial de Paris has left it on record that when La Hire and Pothon visited Charles at Châteaudun, a sheep's tail and two chickens were all that could be provided for their entertainment.[2] So notorious was the King's lack of money that the tradespeople refused to allow him further credit, and his boot-maker would not let him retain the boots he had actually tried on, because he could not pay ready money for them.

Such was the desperate condition of France in 1427, when Charles VII had been for five years little more than its nominal king. Since Cravant and Verneuil, he no longer felt in safety in Bourges, and debated with himself whether it would not be best to abandon the conflict and to take refuge amongst the old allies of his nation and of his family. It was as the only alternative to this last step that he determined once more to make appeal to the King of Scots, who, at that time, was James I.

de large, qui sont vingt aulnes; vingt longières en une piece de fin lin, et trois longières en une pièce contenant seize aulnes et demie de large". The whole cost 100 livres. (Quoted by G. de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 187*n*.)

[1] "Et hoc scit loquens quia ejus maritus erat tunc temporis receptor generalis, qui illo tempore, nec de pecunia regis, nec de sua, habebat nisi quatuor scuta." (*Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. iii, p. 85.)

[2] "Un jour que La Hyre et Poton
Le vindrent veoir, pour festoyement
N'avoient qu'une queue de mouton
Et deux poulets tant seulement."
(*Les Vigilles du Roy Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 56.)

II

The Renewal of the Old Alliance

The care taken by Charles VII in the choice of the representatives who were to lay his proposals before James I bore witness to the importance attached by him to the mission with which they were to be entrusted. He could have made no wiser or more suitable appointment than that of Regnault of Chartres, Duke Archbishop of Reims and Peer of France, to be the head of the embassy.

Regnault belonged to a family whose devotion to the national cause had stood the severest tests with triumphant constancy. Three of his brothers had fallen at Agincourt. His father was amongst the victims massacred by the lawless mob which, with the butcher Caboche, the Duke of Burgundy's hireling, at its head, terrorized Paris for years; and he had himself fallen into the hands of the rebellious traitors. He had lain in such fear of sharing his father's fate as to make a vow that, if his life were spared, he would abstain from flesh meat every Wednesday and drink water for breakfast every Friday and Saturday for the rest of his life.[1] He owed his rapid rise to the highest offices in both the

[1] Anatole France: *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. i, p. 177.

Church and the State to his pre-eminent gifts and rare attainments. The conspicuous ability and indefatigable zeal with which he had acquitted himself in the conduct of the political business that had taken him in turn to Languedoc, to Brittany, and to Burgundy, had earned for him an unrivalled reputation as a diplomatist. He had visited Scotland once already. It was as the result of his negotiations that, in 1421, a second contingent of Scottish auxiliaries had been raised and sent to France under the Earl of Douglas and his son.[1] The record of his past services was a guarantee that the interests of the King of France could not have been put into the hands of a more faithful or more competent agent.

Associated to the Duke Archbishop of Reims was a Scotsman, whose brilliant career since he had left his native land was well calculated to impress the adventurous spirits amongst his countrymen with the advantages that were to be derived from military service in France. John Stuart of Darnley had been appointed with the Earls of Buchan and of Wigtown to the joint command of the first Scottish contingent that had been sent to France to the assistance of the Dauphin.[2] An early opportunity of distinguishing himself was afforded him at Baugé; and he availed himself of it to such good purpose that, for his ser-

[1] "Et envoya (le Daulphin) sire Regnault de Chartres, arcevesque de Reims et chancellier de France, en Escoce, pour avoir encore secours et souldoyers. Et tantost après vint le comte Duglas et son fils, avec sept ou huit mille combatans escoçois, auquel le roi dona le duchié de Touraine à son vivant." (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne: *Chronique de Charles VII*, publiée par Vallet de Viriville, *Chronique de Jean Raoulet*, vol. iii, p. 172.)

[2] *Chronique de Jean Raoulet, ut supra*, p. 168.

vices in that fight, he received a grant of the lordship of Concressault, in Berri, with a yearly rent of 1000 livres, and was further and especially honoured by having a "sovereign astrologer", Master Germain de Thibouville, attached to his person.[1] In the course of the next few years, the efficiency of his aid was recognized by another grant that put him into possession of the lordship of Aubigny-sur-Nère.

John Stuart of Darnley led the Scots at the disastrous battle of Cravant, where he had the double misfortune to lose an eye and to be taken prisoner. This set-back did not, however, check the flow of royal favour, for, not only did the King contribute 1000 livres towards the ransom that was exacted as the price of his liberty,[2] but he also bestowed upon him and his lawful heirs the county of Evreux, in consideration of the "high, honourable, commendable, profitable, and agreeable services" rendered by him, and in compensation of the expenses to which he had been put.[3] That county, it is true, lay in Normandy, and it was only if he succeeded in wresting it from the English, who were still in possession of the province, that the King's liberality could mean more for him than the honourable but empty distinction of a title. About the time of his appoint-

[1] "John Stuart de Derneley fut honoré d'une manière toute speciale: il reçut —un astrologue! C'était alors l'usage, pour les plus hauts princes, d'avoir un astrologue attaché à leur personne; aussi le seigneur écossais regarda-t-il comme un grand honneur le don qui lui était fait: maître Germain de Thibouville, docteur en médecine et 'souverain astrologue', entra aussitôt en fonctions, et prédit, à ce qu'on assure, la mort prochaine de Charles VI et de Henri V." (G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 223.)

[2] Id., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 120. [3] Id., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 131.

ment as ambassador to Scotland, and possibly because of it, he was accorded the exceptional privilege of bearing the lilies of France in his coat-of-arms.[1]

From the position which he holds in French literature, Alain Chartier is the best remembered of the three ambassadors that Charles VII sent to Scotland. His name is still honoured though his works are but little read; but both in his own day and for generations after his death, the appreciation of his countrymen was expressed in terms of enthusiastic eulogy. They saw in him "the father of French eloquence", a "French Seneca", a "matchless clerk and magnificent orator", and "an author of no mean mark", by reason of "the gravity of his sentences". Officially, Alain Chartier was Chancellor of Bayeux and the chief of the King's secretaries. The diplomatic missions with which he had already been entrusted, not only to the Duke of Burgundy, but also to the Emperor Sigismund and to Pope Martin V,[2] bore testimony to the estimation in which he was held and to the confidence that was reposed in him.

Unable as it was to meet ordinary expenses, the royal treasury had no funds that it could spare to defray the costs of such a journey as that which the ambassadors were about to undertake, and to enable them, and the numerous suite which would necessarily accompany them, to maintain some show of splendour. The King was again obliged to have recourse to those who drove a profitable trade by acting as his money-lenders. La Trémouille ad-

[1] G. de Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 159. [2] Id., *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 344, 373.

vanced a part of the thousand gold crowns which, on the 16th of April, 1428, Charles ordered to be paid to John Stuart for his voyage to Scotland; and Gaucourt supplied a hundred towards the outlay of the Archbishop.[1]

The three ambassadors did not reach the Scottish Court together. Chartier preceded his two colleagues. At the audience granted him by the King he referred to their enforced delay and made excuses for it, without, however, entering into any explanation as to its cause.[2] The manuscript of the Latin oration which he delivered on the occasion of his first appearance before the King, is bristling with both clerical and grammatical errors. In spite of its many inaccuracies, it is sufficiently intelligible to convey an idea of the orator's performance. And it inspires the modern reader with a feeling of amazement at the taste that could accept such a laboured and pedantic medley of biblical texts and classical allusions, such a "prodigieux fratras",[3] to quote the words of Chartier's biographer, as a display of scholarly eloquence. But, in the dreary waste of words, there stand out some passages in which the orator strays into relevancy; and then he recalls the old alliance with France, that alliance that has been handed down, as an eternal

[1] G. de Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 396.

[2] "Prevenimus ut ambaxiatam futuram, cuius nos pars indigna sumus, de mora excusemus ac presentemus et in spe iam representemus futuram, ut vestram excellentiam ad vires instaurandas et arma in auxilium regis nostri preparanda excitemus et animemus, quatenus adveniente integra ambaxiata, res de quibus diximus et communicaturi sumus, effectuose perfectioni demandentur." (Bibliothèque nationale, MS. latin, 8757, *f.* 53.)

[3] Delaunay: *Etude sur Alain Chartier*, p. 90.

covenant, from generation to generation, not drawn up on a sheet of parchment, but written on the skin and living flesh of men, not with ink, but with the mingled blood shed by both allies;[1] he brings a tribute of praise to the admirable fidelity and proved valour of the Scots;[2] he expresses a hope that God will not forsake a humble and religious nation devoted to piety and justice, neither ungrateful to its friends nor hostile to its neighbours;[3] and, with a covert allusion to the negotiations that had been entered upon between Scotland and England,[4] he discreetly deprecates an alliance with a new friend to the detriment of one older and more trusty.[5]

Chartier's colleagues arrived in Scotland about the beginning of July, 1428. The entry of £6, 9*s.* 10*d.* for a night's entertainment in Linlithgow, affords a glimpse of them on their way to Edinburgh.[6] They

[1] "Hac autem amicicia quid vivatius, que velut testamentum sempiternum jam per successiones extenditur? Neque enim liga hec jam in carta pellis ovine designata, sed hominum carni et cuti, non atramento, ymno sanguine mixtim fuso scripta est." (MS., *f.* 51.)

[2] "Nos fidem Scotorum rebus in asperis experti, nacionem fidelem, gentem amicicia et fama dignissimam, virtute probatam neque satis venerari, neque dignis laudibus attollere sufficimus." (MS., *f.* 50.)

[3] "Sperandum indubie a Domino quod christianissimam prolem, domum Deo dedicatam, gentem religiosam, populumque humilitatis et pietatis, justicie studiis intentum, non ingratum amicis, vicinis non infestum nequaquam relinquet in prodicionem." (*Ibid.*, *f.* 50 *vo.*)

[4] "Commissio Regis Scotiæ ad tractandum super personali colloquio, perpetua pace, mutuis juramentis et reformatione attemptatorum." July 19th, 1427. (Rymer: *Fœdera*, vol. x, p. 376.)

[5] "Non derelinquas antiquum amicum, novus enim non erit similis illi." (MS., *f.* 51.)

[6] "Pro expensis domini archiepiscopi Remensis in Francia et Domini de Dernele, factis una nocte apud Lithqw in eorum primo adventu, de mandatis regis, vj *li.* ix*s.* x*d.*" (*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. iv, p. 435.)

were received "with great respect, magnificence, and honour"[1] at the Scottish Court; and, in spite of the negotiations which he had himself initiated with England,[2] King James lent a favourable ear to the overtures of which they were the bearers. The real object of their mission was to obtain military help for Charles. But as this was the third time such an appeal for assistance was made, and as the relations between Scotland and England showed symptoms of an alteration that might render its success doubtful, it had been deemed advisable to put forward some justifiable grounds for the request. These took the shape of a proposal, not only for a renewal of the old alliance which had been entered upon by Robert I on the one hand, and Charles the Fair on the other, but also for a further strengthening of its bonds by means of the union of the Princess Margaret and the Dauphin Louis—of whom the latter had not yet completed his first half decade, whilst the former was some two years his junior—when they should have reached marriageable age.

The readiness with which the King of Scots gave his attention to the various matters that had been brought before him, did not exclude a practical regard for his own interests and those of the Princess. The French ambassadors had come to him with definite proposals, but they had not been authorized to subscribe, on their own responsibility, to whatever conditions he might set to his acceptance of them. It

[1] *Liber Pluscardensis*, lib. i, cap. 3, p. 373.
[2] Rymer, *ut supra*.

was therefore necessary, as a further step, that he should appoint ambassadors who, acting in accordance with precise instructions received from him, and in virtue of plenipotentiary powers vested in them, might give the authority of a formal treaty to the agreement finally arrived at as the result of their negotiations with Charles and his Council. For this purpose he chose Henry Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen; Edward Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian; and Sir Patrick Ogilvy, of Auchterhouse, Justiciary of Scotland. By letters missive, issued from Perth, on the 17th of July, 1428, and delivered to the French ambassadors, James made known that he had appointed those three dignitaries to go as his representatives to the Court of France, and had authorized and empowered them to signify his consent and that of his daughter to the proposed union; to fix the amount of her settlement and the security to be given for it; to decide upon the forfeit to be incurred by either party who should fail to fulfil his obligations; to arrange as to the jointure to be enjoyed by the Princess, if the Dauphin should die before the consummation of the marriage; and to provide for the maintenance of the matrimonial alliance, even in the event of the Dauphin's demise, or of that of the Princess, by the substitution of a brother in his stead or of a sister in hers.[1]

[1] ". . . dantes et concedentes eisdem tribus aut duobus ipsorum, nostram auctoritatem, potestatem et mandatum speciale . . . ab eodem christianissimo principe, fratre nostro, sponsiones, promissiones et obligaciones ac vallamenta penarum super matrimonio inter prefatos Ludovicum et Mergaretam, ut prefertur, contrahendo, petendi, requirendi, ac eciam exigendi . . . necnon

By another document, bearing the same date, James bound himself to recognize and accept the terms that might be agreed upon by his ambassadors concerning the number, the pay, the privileges, the treatment, the command, and the stay of the forces to be sent to France with Margaret.[1] In a third letter, drawn up on the same day, he promised, on his royal word, and under forfeit of all his goods, present and future, to abide by what his representatives should have agreed upon with regard to a renewal of the league and alliance between the two countries.[2] And, as a supplement to this, there was a further missive setting forth that not only James himself, but also his clergy and nobility, many of whom were named, had solemnly sworn

pangendi, paciscendi, spondendi ac eciam contrahendi, dotem atque ipsius dotis securitatem et penarum a parte contraveniente levandarum vallamenta, dotisque et dictarum penarum levandarum augmentum unacum dicte nostre filie Mergarete sustentacione et provisione debitis, a casu quo matrimonio, ut premittitur, suum debitum non sorciatur effectum, petendi, apponendi, approbandi, ratificandi ac eciam confirmandi, ac de et super relique prolis nostre tam procreate quam procreande matrimonio cum prole prefati christianissimi principis fratris nostri, procreata seu in antea procreanda contrahendo, eciam tractandi, pangendi, paciscendi, spondendi, submittendi, obligandi, penas apponendi et super ipsarum penarum levacionibus ordinandi, et super premissis omnibus et singulis antedictis concordandi, et finaliter concludendi." (*Archives nationales*, carton J. 678, No. 21.)

[1] ". . . de ipsorum hominum regimine, gubernacione, numero et multitudine, ac ipsorum stipendiis, gagiis, privilegiis, ordinacione, obsequiis, mora, tractatu, legibus et ipsorum gubernatoribus, et ceteris ipsos prefatos homines, dum infra regnum Francie steterint, tangentibus seu quovismodo concernentibus." (*Ibid.*, No. 22.)

[2] ". . . promittentes in verbo regio et sub ypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum presentium et futurorum nos ratos, gratos et firmos habere et perpetuis temporibus habituros totum et quicquid per prefatos tres ambaxiatores nostros aut ipsorum duos nomine nostro actum, gestum, tractatum fuerit, seu quomodo libet procuratum." (*Ibid.*, No. 23.)

to observe the terms and conditions of such an alliance.[1]

Two days later, the King and Council drew up and issued in the same form of letters patent, a document that set forth in fuller detail the conditions on which the proposed marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess of Scotland would be agreed to, and Margaret, together with an auxiliary force of 6000 men, sent over to France within a year after the second of the following February. The first clause contained the conventional and sentimental stipulation that, from the time of the betrothal, each of the sovereigns should look upon the child of the other as his own.[2] It was then

[1] "Et ut omnia et singula antedicta firmiori et securiori stabilimento procedant, dilectissima nostra consors regina, et carissimus avunculus noster Galterus Statherne et Atholie comes, ac carissimi nepotes nostri de Douglas et de Angous comites, et reverendi patres Henricus Sancti Andree, Johannes Glasguensis, cancellarius noster, Robertus Dunkeldensis, Henricus Aberdonensis, Johannes Rossensis, Alexander Candidecase et Willelmus Dunblanensis episcopi, necnon et Georgius de Marchiis, Alexander de Marra, Alexander de Transfurdia, Jacobus de Moravia, Gillelmus de Orchadia et dominus de Sancto Claro, comites, cum multis aliis baronibus et prelatis in eodem nostro concilio generali super dictis confederacionibus et vinculis ligarum ad Sancta Dei evangelia personaliter juraverunt." (*Ibid.*, No. 24.)

[2] "Primo. Dicti principes et quilibet eorum, quantum eum tangit, habent gratum et acceptum dictum matrimonium, placetque eis ipsum tractare, concordare et permittere ac contrahi et consummari facere per dictos dominum Ludovicum et dominam Mergaretam cum ad etatem legitimam pervenerint, super hoc predictis filio et filia suis in minoribus annis constitutis, quilibet pro parte sua spondendi ac etiam paciscendi. Item. Quatenus dicti principes, pendente tempore ante confirmacionem matrimonii tenebunt et acceptabunt, videlicet dictus rex Francie dictam dominam Mergaretam pro filia, et dictus rex Scotie dictum dominum Ludovicum pro filio, juvando, fovendo et confortando eos in suis honoribus, dignitatibus, juribus presentibus et futuris, ac bonum, utilitatem et honorem eorum promovendo, malumque et incommodum et dampnum eorum evitando de toto posse, sicut decet pro filio et filia, ac si matrimonium esset consummatum." (*Ibid.*, No. 25.)

claimed, on behalf of Margaret, that, if she became Queen of France, she should be granted the same allowance as Queens of France had been wont to receive, in accordance with the laws and customs of the country. Should it, however, happen that Louis died before acceding to the throne, she was to be left in the enjoyment of such a jointure as it had hitherto been customary to settle on the consort of the first-born of the King of France, that is, an income of 12,000 livres, secured on castles and lands suitable to her honour and estate.[1] The sum to be forfeited by either sovereign as a penalty for the infringement of the treaty was fixed at 100,000 gold crowns; and it was further to be agreed that the defaulter should submit to such ecclesiastical censure and punishment, including even a general interdict, as it should please the Holy See to inflict upon him for his breach of faith.[2]

There was a final clause in the letter, however,

[1] "Item. Si dicta domina Mergareta racione dicti domini Ludovici tempore futuro ad dignitatem reginalem corone Francie devenerit, dotabitur secundum quod regine Francie per leges et consuetudines dicti regni solent esse et fuerunt dotate. Item. Si contingat dictum dominum Ludovicum decedere antequam ad coronam regiam pervenerit, matrimonio consummato, dicta domina dotabitur ut solent dotari sponse primogeniti regis Francie, aut, si magis placet dos nominata, dotabitur de duodecim mille libris in redditu, juxta estimacionem librarum Francie, et constituetur dos in fortaliciis et dominiis honori et statui tante domine condecentibus." (*Ibid.*)

[2] "Item. Si quis predictorum principum infregerit presentem tractatum et concordiam matrimonii, infractor obligabitur et tenebitur solvere alteri summam centum millium coronarum auri talis ponderis et valoris quod marca Francie sexaginta et quatuor de dictis coronis non excedat. Item. Et quo ad hoc dicte partes cohercioni Sancte Sedis apostolice submittentur usque ad penam generalis interdicti inclusive, non obstante quocumque generali aut speciali privilegio eisdem principibus aut alicui eorum concesso super non interdicendis personis aut dominiis eorurumdem." (*Ibid.*)

which suggested that, although James had provisionally agreed to the terms which had been offered by the French envoys, and which represented the extreme limit to which their instructions allowed them to go, he considered himself entitled to a more liberal recognition of the services which he had been asked and was willing to render. In that clause, it was stated that the embassy which the King of Scots was about to send to France, would deal with the question of an increase both of the forfeit and of the marriage settlement.[1] And it might reasonably be inferred that, in the instructions given to his commissioners, James, after duly consulting the interests of his daughter, and providing for an adequate guarantee of good faith, had not failed to put forward claims on his own behalf.

The voyage to France, and the discussions to which the further demands of the Scottish commissioners gave rise, occupied the next three months. It was not until the 30th of October that, at Chinon, in the presence of his Council, Charles VII solemnly swore on the Gospels to observe the treaty with his dearest brother and ally in the modified and extended form which it had assumed in consequence of the new conditions demanded by the authorized and accredited representatives of the latter. The modifications bore on two points, Margaret's jointure, which was increased from 12,000 to 15,000

[1] "Item. Hiis non obstantibus tam de augmentatione penarum a parte contraveniente levendarum quam ampliacione dotis et redditum pro vita dicte domine Mergarete assignandorum, quedam alia regis Scotie ambaxiate petenda et exigenda committuntur." (*Ibid.*)

livres; and the amount of the forfeit, which was raised to three times the original 100,000 crowns.[1] The additions were also two in number. By the first of them it was provided that if the Dauphin should die before the consummation of the marriage, his next surviving brother should wed the Scottish Princess. In the event of her demise, one of her sisters, of whom the choice should lie with James, subject to a limitation of seven years between the ages of husband and wife, was, in her stead, to become the consort of the heir to the French throne.[2] The second stipulated that, if Louis were to die before the consummation of the marriage, and there should be no brother to take his place, Margaret was to receive 80,000 gold crowns, providing she were living in France at the time.[3] The reason

[1] "Addi pro parte nostra voluimus et ordinavimus que sequntur: Primo, volumus et addimus ad predicta quod si contingat filiam nostram Margaritam racione dicti filii nostri primogeniti ad coronam reginalem Francie non devenire, matrimonio consummato, de quindecim mille libris annui redditus dotetur. . . . Secundo, quod pena contra partem infrigentem apposita et alteri parti solvenda, que ad centum mille coronas estimabatur, usque ad tricenta millia coronarum augmentatur." (*Ibid.*, No. 26.)

[2] "Tertio, quod si contingat dictum filium nostrum Ludovicum decedere, matrimonio non consummato cum dicta filia Margarita, secundogenitus noster, si Deus nobis aliquem dederit, contrahet cum eadem Margarita, et in casu simili mortis secundi, tercius et sic deinceps usque ad alicujus matrimonii inter dictos proles consummationem. Et similiter in casu mortis dicte Margarite, presenti matrimonio non consummato, dictus Ludovicus filius noster contrahet cum secunda, et in casu simili mortis secunde cum tercia, et sic deinceps usque ad consummationem alicujus matrimonii inter dictas proles, hoc tamen sub tali condicione et pacto intelligendum est, quod de dictis filiabus viventibus poterimus eligere quamcumque voluerimus pro filiis nostris predictis queque in personis sit ydoneitas et talis conveniencia in annis quod una pars alteram ultra septennium non excedat." (*Ibid.*)

[3] "Quarto, quod si contingat dictum filium nostrum Ludovicum decedere, matrimonio non consummato et non vivente aut superstite nobis altero filio

assigned by Charles for assenting to the addition of these terms was the promise made to him that abundant and powerful help against the enemies of both kingdoms should be sent from Scotland.[1]

The treaty of Chinon was silent with regard to one important point which had been the subject of earnest discussion, but with regard to which Charles and his Council had not yet been able to come to a decision when that agreement was signed. In the name of their sovereign the Scottish Commissioners had asked that, in return for the help which he was prepared to give, he should at once receive a grant of the province of Saintonge, which was one of those which the King could still call his own, and that later, when the invaders had, with his assistance, been driven out of France, he should be allowed to exchange it for some other part of the country evacuated by them.[2]

The price demanded was high; but the Bishop of Aberdeen and his colleagues had been instructed to insist on it, and, rather than forgo what seemed to be the last hope of securing assistance for France in her distress, the Council accepted the hard terms.

In the early days of November the ambassadors were handed letters patent by which the King of

cum quo possit per matrimonium dicta filia nostra Margarita copulari, adductaque ad nos et dictum filium nostrum fuerit in regno nostro, nos in recompensacione laborum et onerum dicte filie nostre Margarite eidem dabimus et persolvi faciemus quadraginta millia coronarum auri." (*Ibid.*)

[1] "Et maxime quod auxilium et succursum dicti fratris nostri copiosum et potentem adversus utriusque regni hostes nobis venturum et serviturum obtulerunt et promiserunt (ambaxiatores)." (*Ibid.*)

[2] G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, pp. 397 and *sq.*

France, in gratitude for past services, and in thankful anticipation of the further succour that was promised him, granted to his dearest brother and ally the full possession of the County of Saintonge and the chatellany of Rochefort, to be held in perpetuity by him and his heirs, on the usual conditions of fidelity and homage to the King of France as liege lord and suzerain.[1] On the 10th of the month this first concession had another as its sequel and complement. By a second deed Charles promised that, when he had recovered his kingdom, and particularly Normandy, by the help of the King of Scots, he would allow him to exchange the County of Saintonge for either the Duchy of Bourges or the County of Evreux, at his option.[2]

[1] "Damus, concedimus ac transportamus per presentes, comitatum nostrum Xanctonensem cum castro et castellania de Rupe Forti super Carechonam, cum portubus maris si qui sunt in dicto comitatu et aliis pertinenciis et appendenciis eorundem quibuscumque . . . . homagium tantum et fidelitatem ad causam predictorum comitatus et castellaniae nobis debitos ac superioritatem et ressortum et regaliae nostrae jura reservantes." (*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii, pp. 183–5.)

[2] "Karolus Dei gracia Francorum Rex. Universis presentes litteras inspecturis salutem. Notum facimus quod cum per alias nostras litteras patentes et ex causis nos ad hoc moventibus, in illis plenius expressis, dederimus, cesserimus et transportaverimus carissimo fratri et confederato, consanguineoque nostro, Jacobo, eadem gracia Regi Scotorum illustrissimo, comitatum Xanctonensem castrumque et castellaniam de Ruppeforti super Charantonam, certis modis et formis et ob recompensacionem gratitudinum et auxiliorum ac complacenciarum ut in dictis litteris declaratur, Nos premeditantes et prout accepimus quod post restauracionem seu recuperacionem dominii nostri, idem frater noster in recompensacionem predictorum, alias terras sibi magis acceptas in regno nostro poterit et a nobis voluerit postulare, promisimus et promittimus eidem fratri nostro in verbo regio per presentes quod regno nostro cum ejus auxilio reintegrato et recuperato, partibus regni per hostes antiquos et communes Anglicos nostrosque rebelles occupatis, et maxime ducatu Normanie, seu majori et principaliori parte ejusdem, in nostra plena obediencia restitutis, dabimus eidem fratri nostro ducatum nostrum Bitturicensem aut comitatum Ebroicensem quemcumque illorum

There now lay no obstacle to a formal renewal of the old league and convention between the two countries. Four months later, at Edinburgh, in the presence of the highest ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries of his kingdom, James solemnly affixed his signature to his copy of a treaty which embodied an alliance, defensive and offensive, between the King of Scotland and the King of France and their respective heirs and successors. By the first of its numerous clauses he bound himself to supply Charles with help in men and money, and, if necessary, to support him by personal service in his struggle against the English; and he further undertook to create a diversion in favour of the French by himself waging war on England. It was stipulated that neither of the contracting parties was to help the English, to enter into any treaty with them without the consent of his ally, or to conclude any peace with them without including that ally. It was provided that, in the event of a disputed succession in Scotland, the King of France was not to intervene, but was to allow the matter to be settled by the Estates of the Kingdom, and was to defend the rights of the sovereign in whose favour

sibi nobis dare placuerit et voluerimus electioni nostre reservantes ac sub modo et formis cum honoribus et dignitatibus quibus supradictos comitatum Xanctonensem et castrum de Ruppeforti per dictas alias litteras dedimus super hiis nostras similes litteras dabimus. In quorum omnium testimonium premissorum presentibus litteris sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Datum in castro nostro Caynonis, decima die mensis novembris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo octavo, et regni nostri septimo."

(Endorsed) Per Regem in suo magno consilio in quo vos, episcopus Sagiensis, dominus de La Tremoille magnus cambellanus, domini de Tremis et de Gaucourt et alii eratis. Malliere. (*Archives nationales*, carton J. 678, No. 27.)

they declared. Interference on the part of the Holy See was especially ensured against by two clauses, of which one precluded any appeal to the Pope for dispensation from the obligations entailed by the treaty, whilst the other bound both parties to disregard his action if, on his own initiative, he should wish to annul it.[1]

King Charles had not waited for the receipt of this formal document to convey to the towns that still remained faithful to him the good news of forthcoming help; as early as the 3rd of January, 1429, the municipality of Tournay was informed in his name that the alliance between France and Scotland had been renewed; that the marriage of the Dauphin with the daughter of the King of Scots had been decided upon; that, before the following Whitsuntide, the latter was to send the Princess over to France, together with an auxiliary force of 4000 men; and that, if those reinforcements proved insufficient, James would himself come over in person with more.[2] How quickly the welcome tidings spread through the country and reached the most remote localities is evidenced by an incident in the early career of Jeanne d'Arc. When she was at Vaucouleurs in the month of February, 1429, Jean de Novelompont asked her the momentous questions which the continued success of the invaders forced home to those that still professed allegiance to the royal house of France: "Must the king be driven

[1] *Archives nationales*, carton J., No. 69.
[2] G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 399.

from his realm, and must we all become English?" And the Maid had answered: "No one in the world, neither kings, nor dukes, nor the daughter of the King of Scotland, can recover the kingdom of France; in me alone is help."[1]

It was not unknown in England that negotiations had been going on between Scotland and France. In the absence of definite information as to their object, the rumours to which they gave rise assumed the most fantastic shapes. The Italian chronicler Morosini heard and has recorded some of them. They were to the effect that the Duke of Orleans had made his escape from England, where he had been a prisoner for fourteen years, and had taken refuge with the King of Scots, who had given him one of his sisters in marriage, and who was levying an army for the purpose of sending it to France, in aid of the Dauphin, as the still uncrowned Charles continued to be called even by many of his own subjects.[2]

The Privy Council, whose knowledge was doubtless derived from a source more trustworthy than public report, took steps to frustrate the plan on which Charles VII had set his last hope. On the 17th of April it issued orders for the equipment of a fleet, which was to intercept the French ships that were said to be in Scotland, and to prevent the Princess Margaret, as well as the auxiliary forces, to the number of 6000 men, that were to accompany

[1] Quicherat: *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, vol. ii, p. 436.
[2] *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini*, vol. iii, p. 135.

her, from reaching a French port.[1] But, at that very time there were events in preparation that were to postpone, for a very indefinite period, the fulfilment of the treaties of Perth and of Chinon. More than a month earlier Jeanne d'Arc had made her appearance at the French Court, and had proclaimed her mission of deliverance.

[1] "Et quod fiat armatum in mari, pro obviandis Scottorum sex millibus, ut dicitur, paratis transire in navibus Franciæ, jam in Scocia adventis, cum filia Regis Scottorum maritanda filio Dolphini." (*Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. iii, p. 324.)

III

A Critical Delay

In view of the solemn promises that had been exchanged between the Kings of France and of Scotland, it might have been thought that a complete and final agreement had been reached. There is, nevertheless, documentary evidence of further negotiations in the course of the year 1430, though no clue is afforded as to the object of them. It is known from entries in official accounts that Jean Sire de Pollot (who may have been a Pollock), Thomas Scott, and Simon Taillefer (in whom the Telfers may have had an ancestor), all three of them described as "esquires from the country of Scotland", received 2100 livres for their journey to and from France, whither they had been sent by the King of Scots as ambassadors, "to treat, confirm, and pacify certain matters of high import, alliances, and other business concerning the King and the two kingdoms"; that Patrick Ogilvy, Earl of Angus, was given 1200 livres to defray the expenses of a journey to Scotland, on a mission to the king, "pour le bien de luy et de son royaume"; and that, on the same occasion, a merchant of Montpellier was paid 1100 reals of gold for silks which, after having been

used by the king and queen, were given to Angus, presumably as gifts for James and his consort. Nothing is recorded as having resulted from either of these embassies, and it may be doubted whether they were successful in attaining their object.[1]

Prior to the French mission of 1428, James had given indications of a desire to establish more friendly relations between Scotland and England.[2] The renewal of the alliance with France, in spite of the old clauses that had been retained in the new treaty, for the direct purpose of preventing any understanding with the common enemy, did not deter him from pursuing the peaceful foreign policy which could alone enable him to devote his undivided care and energy to the vigorous administration of his own kingdom. In the month of February, 1429, a conference had taken place between him and Cardinal Beaufort,[3] and had resulted in the signing of an indenture, on the 12th of July, 1429, at Hawdenstank, for observance of order on the Marches.[4] On the 8th of November, 1430, a twelvemonth's truce, from the 1st of May, 1431, to the 1st of May, 1432, had been agreed upon in London, and by a treaty signed in Edinburgh on the 15th of December, 1430, and proclaimed on the 19th of January, 1431, had been extended to sunset on the 1st of May, 1436.[5] The delivery of numerous safe-conducts granted by the English government to Scottish

[1] G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 424.
[2] Rymer: *Fœdera*, vol. x, p. 376.
[3] *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. iv, p. cxxi.
[4] Rymer: *Fœdera*, vol. x, p. 428. [5] Rymer: *ibid.*, pp. 482–3.

commissioners in the course of the year 1431 supplies further evidence of continued negotiations between the two countries.[1] In the month of October of that year Lord Scrope was dispatched to Edinburgh with proposals for a lasting peace. They were supported by an offer to restore not only Roxburgh and Berwick, but also "all other places and possessions that had formerly been wrongfully wrested from the realm of Scotland". Favourable as were those terms, when submitted to the Estates of the Realm they failed to meet with the support of the clergy, who maintained that the king could not decide as to a lasting peace with England without the consent of the king and kingdom of France, with whom there existed a formal and solemn league, and without the sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff, who had ratified and confirmed it. This view was vigorously upheld by the Abbots of Scone and Inchcolm, whose speeches, inspired by a deep and avowed distrust of England, produced such an impression on their hearers that "nothing was done to impair the alliance between France and Scotland".[2]

Even this rebuff did not discourage the English Regent. In 1433 Garter King-at-Arms was sent to Scotland in a further attempt to secure the king's consent to a formal treaty of peace. And, finally, in the beginning of the following year, overtures were made for the marriage of the young King of England with one of the Scottish princesses.[3]

[1] Rymer: *Fœdera*, vol. x. [2] *The Book of Pluscarden*, bk. vii, chap. vi.
[3] G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 492.

Influenced by the success which Jeanne d'Arc had initiated, and loath to comply with the exorbitant conditions to which, in his distress, he had given unwilling consent, Charles VII had hitherto abstained from taking any active measures to give effect to the treaties of 1428. But, independent as he might now feel of Scottish help, he was fully conscious of the danger that lay in its transference to the side of England. When rumours reached him of an intended matrimonial alliance with Henry VI he hastened to send two ambassadors, of whom one was Messire Pierre de Saint Vallérien, canon of Paris, an expert in medicine and astrology, and the other a bishop whose name is not mentioned, on a special mission to Scotland, as the bearer of a letter in which he claimed from James the fulfilment of the treaty, in so far, at least, as the marriage between the Princess Margaret and the Dauphin was concerned.[1] The military support so earnestly pleaded for in 1428 he no longer needed; and he showed no disposition to burden himself and the country with so formidable a body of men, whose fighting qualities were indeed recognized, but whose predatory pro-

[1] "Messire Pierre de St. Vallérien, chanoine de Paris, expert en médecine et en astrologie . . . fut envoyé en Escosse avecques autres pour admener madame Margarite d'Escosse en France qui esposa Loys daulphin de France, qui gueres ne vesquit. Dieu ayt son ame." (*Recueil des plus célèbres astrologues* de Simon Phares, MS. français 1357, fol. 154 v°, Bibliothèque nationale.) M. Francisque Michel, in *Les Ecossais en France*, mentions the famous La Hire as a member of the embassy. That statement, however, is not borne out by the passage in *The Book of Pluscarden* to which he refers as his authority, and which, besides being confused and demonstrably erroneous in itself, has evidently been misread by him. That one of the commissioners was a bishop may be gathered from King James's letter of the 8th of January (*vide infra*, p. 37, note).

pensities and intemperate habits earned for them an unenviable reputation as sheep-stealers and wine-sacks.[1]

In his reply to the King of France's complaints and insinuations, James was courteous without being effusive, and the firmness of his tone, though tempered by assurances of friendship and goodwill, made it evident that he was in no wise inclined to accept the responsibility for the delay which it now suited his dear brother and ally to regard in the light of a grievance. He would always be ready and willing, he said, to dispatch the military contingent which he had promised, and even to double it, if that were necessary; but the matter was one that depended on Charles himself and on his fidelity to the agreement entered upon. To the request that his daughter should be forthwith sent to France he objected her tender age and the wintry season, which did not seem a fit time for her to undertake so long a journey. He emphatically repudiated the allegation that he had entered into negotiations with England with a view either to peace or to a matrimonial alliance; and he pointedly declared that he would never take steps in that direction so long as he was assured that Charles himself was blameless in the matter. He did not deny that English ambassadors had come to Scotland, and that Scottish ambassadors had been sent to England, but he explained that the negotia-

[1] "Sed statim quia non excluserunt Anglos de regno, delati sunt Scoti apud Regem, et vocati sunt devoratores vini et multonum epulones." (*Walter Bower*, ed. Hearne, vol. iv, p. 1213.)

tions with which they were entrusted referred merely to the exchange of hostages. In conclusion, he again referred to the long delay, which he, on his side, attributed to Charles, and which, he asserted, had been more prejudicial to both countries than his dearest brother and ally seemed to realize; and he requested, in plain and direct words, that the King of France should now bring the matter to an issue by immediately dispatching a messenger with definite information as to his intentions.[1]

[1] King James's letter, of which a summary is here given, bears the date of the 8th of January, 1434. The greater part of it, indeed, all but the opening sentences, is to be found in a manuscript, or rather, the fragment of a manuscript, for 118 folios are wanting, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale (MS. fr. 17330, No. 9), and containing a very detailed account of Regnault Girard's embassy to Scotland. To judge by the handwriting, it is not the original document, but only a 16th-century copy. As it has never been published, copious extracts from it are included in the notes to the present and to the next chapter. They are indicated by the name "Girard".—"Nous serons tousiours prestz et appareillez de vous envoier l'armée appointctée et le double, si mestier est, mais que l'appointement sur ce soit gardé de vostre part. . . . Quant est d'envoyer vostre fille et la nostre de par delà, tant pour son tendre aage comme pour le temps de l'hyver nous semble qu'elle ne peult bonnement travailler encores si long voiage. . . . Et quant au raport que nous a esté faict que vous traictiez mariage de vostre filz et le nostre autre part, sur ce vous a pleu nous declarer bien à plain vostre intention, de laquelle chose nous vous remercions et de cueur. Et aussi pareillement nous a esté raporté par ledict evesque que par les generaulx et commis de vostre royaulme et speciallement de vostre court est dict et parlé que nous avions faict traicté de mariage et de paix avec les Anglois au preiudice de l'aliance et dudict mariage accordé et obligé entre vous et nous. Très hault et très puissant prince, nostre très chier frere et allié, quant à ce loyaulment nous certifions que oncques ne fut notre intention ne jà ne sera de faire traicter ne nous allier en aucune maniere avec les dicts Anglois au preiudice de nostre alliance ne dudict mariage, ne sur ce jà ne ferons se ne soit que la faulte soit bien cogneue estre de vostre part, que Dieu ne veuille ne nous l'esperons mye. Et nonobstant qu'il est vray que par plusieurs foys avons eu ambassade des Angloix sur la matière de paix et aussi avons envoié devers eulx de noz gens, non à celle fin de faire chose preiudiciable à ce qu'est traictié et accordé entre vous et nous, mais par telz ambassades avons eu faveurs à noz hostages par l'entrechange de diverses personnes, comme

In spite of this urgent appeal, it was not till the month of October that Charles and his council decided that it would be expedient to send to Scotland for the dauphiness; and it was thought that Regnault Girard and Hugh Kennedy could, as the former of them words it in his account of the third embassy, "be of great service to the king in this business".

For the delicate mission of pacifying the King of Scots and of preventing a breach of the friendly relations between the two countries, Charles had chosen an agent who had already given proof of his tact and of his ability as a diplomatist. On two former occasions, in 1430 and in 1432, Regnault Girard, lord of Bazoges, Master of the King's Household, and Member of his Council, had conducted important negotiations with the Duke of Brittany, and the success which he had achieved on both occasions had amply justified the trust that had been reposed in him. His colleague, Hugh Kennedy, who subsequently became Sir Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar, and the common ancestor of the houses of Bargany, Kirkhill, and Binning, was a typical soldier of fortune. He was the fourth son of Sir Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure, a member of the powerful and well-known family whose authority was practically paramount in Carrick. It was originally intended that he should

jeunes enfans pour agiés, pauvres pour riches, vassaulx pour seigneurs. . . . Et pareillement vous prions que faciés de vostre part [faire] et acomplir en effet ce que avez octroyé et promis par voz lettres. Et pour ce vous plaise nous certifier à quelle fin et execution vous tendés quant es choses dessus-dictes avecques l'expedition de nostredict poursuyvant, le plustost que bonnement faire ce pourra et sans delay. . . . Car la longue attente que a esté par vous à vous et à nous a esté preiudiciable et plus que ne penseriez." (*Girard.*)

be a friar, and he had actually worn the cowl, but "his currage, not agreabill to sa base ane office, lost the same"; and he found more congenial employment with the contingent that went over to France with the Earl of Buchan. He distinguished himself at the battle of Baugé, and later as one of Jeanne d'Arc's companions in arms; and his name is of frequent occurrence in the chronicles of the period.[1]

If the mission which it was proposed to entrust to the lord of Bazoges was an honourable one, the sea journey which it involved seemed so "dangerous and perilous" to the timorous landsman that he made every effort to be relieved of the duty. He urged that "la saison estoit contraire contre tout droit de marriage comme en la saison de l'hyver"—an objection which appears to be an ecclesiastical one, based on the ordinance of the Church, which forbids the celebration of marriage during Advent. He further represented that the King was at war with the King of England and with the Duke of Burgundy, and that the Bretons afforded him neither favour nor succour; and, under the influence of the unmanly dread which he candidly confessed, he offered to give 400 crowns to any substitute whom the King should sanction. Charles, however, would not hold him excused, but ordered him, on his allegiance, to undertake the embassy.[2]

[1] *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy.* Edited by Robert Pitcairn, Bannatyne Club, p. 4.

[2] "Et pour eschiver le dangier de la mer je voulsise donner quatre cens escuz à celluy qui entreprendroit l'ambassade, et qu'il pleust au Roy me tenir pour

Being thus compelled to unwilling obedience, Girard, in accordance with his sovereign's instructions, proceeded to La Rochelle, where, with Hugh Kennedy, who was to meet him there, he was to make all necessary preparations for the voyage, including that of selecting a clerk, of whom the choice was left wholly to himself. He bestowed the appointment on Master Aymery Martineau, Licenciate of Laws and Master of Requests of the Household of the King.

From Poitiers, where he was staying at the time, the King of France sent the High Steward of his Household, Monseigneur de Vendôme, and Master Jehan Chasteigner, one of his treasurers, to La Rochelle, to see that there was no dilatoriness in shipping off the embassy to Scotland. They brought with them, in addition to the letters that were to be delivered in Scotland, minute instructions as to what Girard and Kennedy were to say and set forth to the King of Scots, on behalf of his good brother and ally. After conveying their sovereign's greetings and good wishes to the royal family of Scotland, collectively and individually, they were to make a detailed report of the improved condition of the country. In explanation and excuse of the delay that had occurred in sending over an embassy to make the final arrangements for the dauphiness's home-coming, they were to plead the very great and

excusé; mais le Roy ne le volt consentir et me commanda très expressement d'aller en ladicte ambassade sur tout le service que jamais faire luy vouldroye." (*Girard.*)

almost overwhelming expenses entailed on the King of France by the necessity of raising several armies for the purpose of withstanding the efforts of those old and common enemies of both France and Scotland, the English, who, with the help of their ally, the Duke of Burgundy, were endeavouring to usurp his dominions. As a further reason, they were to state that their royal master did not dispose of the services of many that were sufficiently inured to the sea and careless of danger to brave the hardships of a long voyage and to run the risk of an encounter with the enemy. And to this unreadiness on the part of his courtiers they were to attribute it that the present embassy was not more numerous and more stately, and that no prince of the blood was included in it.[1]

[1] "Item excuseront ledict Roy de France envers ledict Roy d'Escoce de ce que pardevers luy n'a envoié son ambassade dedans le temps que escript luy avoit a fin de prandre appoinctement final avec luy sur la venue pardeça de madicte dame la Daulphine en luy remonstrant les très grandes et comme insupportables charges qui continuellement survenues luy sont et les grandes et sumptueuses despenses que faire luy a convenu pour mectre sur plusieurs et diverses armées tant deça que delà leurs rivières pour obvier et resister à la damnable emprise des Angloix, anciens et communs ennemis desdictz Royaumes de France et d'Escoce, et du duc de Bourgongne leur allié, lesquelz se sont eforsez et encores font de jour en jour de usurper sa seigneurie. . . . Et aussi à vray dire se treuve pardeça peu de gens qui aient acoustumé la mer ne qui pour cause de dangier des ennemys se vueillent charger de faire le voiage. Et est la cause, comme dire pourront, pourquoi le Roy de France ne envoye presentement devers ledict Roy d'Escoce plus grande et plus solemnelle ambassade. . . . Item et a fin que mieulx appert de sadicte volunté et du grand desyr que luy, la Royne sadicte compaigne et mondict S^r^ le Daulphin leur filz ont que la consommation dudict mariage se puisse acomplir si trestoust que les parties seront d'aage competant, qui brief sera, et aussi que madicte dame la Daulphine vienne pour celle cause pardeça, diront lesdictz ambassadeurs audict Roy d'Escoce que pour appoincter avec luy le faict de la venue de madicte dame la Daulphine, le Roy les envoye presentement devers luy pour luy prier et

Anxious as he professed to be that the Princess Margaret should be brought over to France, either at once or, at latest, in the course of the ensuing fair season, Charles had not provided ships to transport an adequate military escort. His omission to do so was to be accounted for by his lack of an armed squadron and the necessity under which he would be of procuring one from Spain. Such a step could not be taken secretly; and the knowledge of it which the English were sure to obtain would enable them to lie in wait for the convoy, and possibly to capture the princess.[1] This was to open the way for the ambassadors to throw out the suggestion that James should undertake to provide for his daughter's safe passage to France. If, as seemed so far from being unlikely that it was actually anticipated, he should object to defraying the whole of the expense which

requerir qu'il la vueille envoyer pardeça soit maintenant s'il est possible ou si non en la prochaine saison mesmement jusques à la Rochelle où ledict Roy de France la fera honnorablement recueillir et recevoir et pourvoira à sadicte reception quant du temps de sa venue sera acertaine selon que à son estat appartient. . . . Item et si ledict Roy d'Escoce respondoit que sondict beau frere deust avoir envoié pardelà des seigneurs de son sang avecques navire et armée competant pour conduire et amenner honnorablement comme il appartient madicte dame la Daulphine, luy sera comme dessus remonstré les grans affaires du Roy, le besoing aussi qu'il a continuellement pour le faict de sa guerre et autrement desdits seigneurs de son sang à luy obeissans, le faict aussi de la mer qu'ilz n'ont pas acoustumé et ledict dangier des ennemis." (*Gerard.*)

[1] "Et mesmement que pardeça n'a aucun navire d'armée et le conviendroit aller querir en Espaigne, qui ne se pourroit faire sans grant temps et que possible Anglois n'en eussent congnoissance, dont paradventure se pourroient ensuir de grans inconvenients non pas seullement sur ledict navire en le menant pardelà, mais peult estre sur madicte dame la Daulphine et ceux de sa compaignie en venant pardeça, parce que lesdits Anglois en seroient de bonne heure advisez pour y donner empeschement daguet apensé." (*Gerard.*)

so one-sided an arrangement would entail, he was to be requested to supply at least such an escort as would ensure a safe voyage to La Rochelle, and Charles would undertake to provide the ships that might be required for the transport of as many as two thousand combatants, if it were deemed advisable to have so numerous an escort. On the assumption that this alternative would be accepted by the Scottish king, the ambassadors were instructed to arrange further as to the actual date at which the departure of the Dauphiness could be fixed.[1]

With regard to the contingent of six thousand Scots fighting men originally applied for, the ambassadors were to explain to James the several reasons that had prevented their being sent for. The first of these was their royal master's anxiety to spare his subjects. They were already heavily burdened by the war, and could ill afford to bear the fresh charges that would have to be laid upon them to meet, not only the demands of the King of Spain, from whom the necessary means of transport would have to be procured, but also the cost of maintaining so considerable a body of troops in the country.

[1] "Item et si ledict Roy d'Escoce n'estoit content de soy charger du tout dudict passage, disant que ce ne doit estre à ses despens, luy sera adoncques requis que à tout le moins se vueille charger de bailler gens pour acompaigner et conduire seurement madicte dame la Daulphine jusques audict lieu de la Rochelle, ainsi qu'il semble de toute honesteté que faire le doibve et que tenu y est, et ledict Roy de France pouvoirra de navire qui pour ce sera necessaire mesmement pour deux mil combatans, se tant en fault. Et en ce cas prandront lesditz ambassadeurs appoinctement final avec luy dedans quel temps en ceste prochaine saison ledict navire se devra rendre en Escoce pour passer madicte dame la Daulphine et sadite compaignie." (*Girard.*)

Consideration for James himself was to be put forward as the second; whilst the third, so cogent that it might have stood alone in justification of the King's conduct, lay in the fact that the continued success of the French arms, as instanced by the capture of such notable and important towns as Chartres, Provins, and Moret, had rendered it unnecessary to call in outside assistance. Should the need of it again arise, the King of Scots, as the one monarch in whom, above all others in the world, Charles placed unbounded and unqualified confidence, would be asked to furnish it. Meanwhile he might do good service and earn the gratitude of his ally if, by way of a diversion, he carried war over the Border, and thus obliged the English to send troops to the north for the protection of their own territory.[1]

[1] "Item et si ledict Roy d'Escoce mettoit en termes lesdictz ambassadeurs le faict de l'armée de six mil combatans que selon les appoinctemens faictz envoier devoit en la compaignie de madicte dame la Daulphine pour secourir et servir ledict Roy de France son beau frere moiennant le navire que pour ce il devoit envoier pardelà et les aultres convenances contenues esditz appointemens, etc., luy sera respondu comme dessus que dudict navire ledict Roy de France ne pourra pas finer si non par le moien du Roy d'Espaigne, qui seroit chose de long traict et de très grans fraiz, etc. Et aussi luy seront remonstrez les grans charges que les pays et subgectz dudit Roy de France ont eu et encores ont de jour en jour à supporter en soubstenant plusieurs et diverses armées qu'il a mises et met souvant sus pour le faict de sa guerre. Parquoy n'eussent peu et encores ne pourroient bonnement et sans trop excessive charge soubstenir ne fournir de vivres et autres necessitez ladicte armée d'Escoce. Et pour ce ledict Roy de France comme autresfoys l'a escript audict Roy d'Escoce a tousiours differé le plus qu'il a peu, pour la descharge de sesdictz subgectz comme aussi pour moins donner de charge à sondict beau frere le Roy d'Escoce, de le requerir deladicte armée, mesmement que, la grace de Dieu, sesdictz ennemis ne l'ont depuis grand temps, par la bonne resistance que faicte y a, guères grevé ne endommagé, et ne se sont trouvez plus fort de luy. Mais il a bien confiance en luy que, quant besoing luy seroit et qu'il l'en requerroit, il ne luy vouldroit, comme aussi le luy a bien escript, aucunement faillir non pas seullement de

Prior to the departure of the embassy for Scotland, a practical step was taken that testified to a real desire on the part of Charles to atone for the dilatoriness of years and at length to give effect to the engagements that had been entered upon fully five years earlier, for the marriage of his son. A contract was entered upon with Jehan de Préel, surnamed Pymor,[1] of La Rochelle, for the supply of such ships as would be required to convey the Princess Margaret, with her retinue and her military escort, from Scotland to France. It was stipulated as a preliminary, that Pymor was to accompany Regnault Girard for the purpose of ascertaining without delay, and at first hand, the terms of the agreement that might result from the conference of the French ambassadors with the Scottish King. If it should be decided that the expenses of the

ladicte armée de six mil combatans, mais de plus grand nombre si nécessité en avoit. Et aussi en ce cas l'en requeroit plus feablement que nul autre comme le prince du monde à qui il a et bien doit avoir greigneur fiance. Et pareillement ne luy vouldroit ledict Roy de France jamais de rien faillir, mais en cas de besoing luy ayder et secourir devant tous autres et de toute sa puissance, voyre de sa propre personne si besoing estoit, comme son bon frere et allié, et à ce se repute non sans cause très tenu. Item advertiront lesdictz ambassadeurs ledict Roy d'Escoce que si son bon plaisir estoit, en entretenant les alliances d'entre luy et sondict beau frere le Roy de France, faire guerre pardeça à l'encontre desditz Angloix, fut sur leurs frontieres ou autre part, ce seroit grand alegement pour sondict beau frere le Roy de France et luy en sauroit grand gré. Car en leur donnant afaire et empeschement pardelà, ilz le pourroient de tant moins charger et grever pardeça." (*Girard.*)

[1] The sixteenth-century copyist was apparently unable to decipher this name in the original, and has rendered it by something that may be variously read as "Punier" or "Pinier", and which M. de Beaucourt (*Histoire de Charles VII*) gives as "Puver". That the contractor's name was "Pymor", which Girard may have written "Pimor", is put beyond doubt by an official entry of the payment made to him after his return to France (*vide infra*, Chap. VI, p. 86, note). It has therefore been adopted here.

Princess's journey were to be borne by Charles, Pymor was to return at once with the information; and, in that case, all the remuneration to which he would be entitled for the voyage out and home, would be a doublet.[1] It would then devolve on him to charter the necessary ships, to take them to Scotland, and to return to France with the whole expedition, which he would also have to supply with provisions from the time of embarkation to that of landing. The sum to be paid him for this was fixed at the rate of five gold reals per head. Of the whole amount thus due to him, he was, when setting out from home, to receive three-fifths, that is, six thousand reals if he were required to bring over two thousand men, and three thousand if the escort were limited to one thousand. And payment was to be made in the same proportion for any intermediate number. He was to receive this first instalment at La Rochelle, and the revenue accruing from the wine trade of Saintonge was, at the same time, to be pledged to him as security for the balance of the debt.[2]

If, on the outward journey, Pymor with his squadron should be held up and despoiled by the

[1] "Et si ledict messire Regnault prent appoinctement que le passage de madicte dame se face aux despens du Roy de France, ledit Pymor, après le commandement dudict messire Regnault, du premier temps retournera devers le Roy de France pour luy dire et rapporter ledict appoinctement faict et prins par ledict messire Regnault avecques ledict Roy d'Escoce, et de sondict voiage, ne du retourner n'en demande aucune chose au Roy si non une robbe." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Et le residu le Roy sera tenu paier ledict voyage faict et acomply, et en luy faisant le premier paiement le Roy le fera seur de sa reste sur la traicte des vins de Xantonge et luy rendra tout son argent en la ville de la Rochelle." (*Girard.*)

enemy, the King would have no right to call upon him for the reimbursement of any part of the money paid to him in advance, nor should Pymor himself, however, be entitled to the outstanding amount. But on the other hand, if such an untoward fate were to befall him whilst on his way back from Scotland, seeing that he would then have supplied the provisions and otherwise fulfilled his contract, he was still to have a claim on the King for the remainder of the debt.[1] Should the King of Scots consent to victual the squadron, either wholly or partially, the supplies furnished by him were to be appraised and the amount deducted from Pymor's contract. If it happened that Pymor were actually captured, the King undertook to provide for his ransom up to the amount of four hundred reals.[2]

It was assumed that the expedition would not last beyond a month, but if an unfavourable wind or any other untoward circumstance necessitated a longer stay in Scotland, the additional expenses incurred owing to the delay would be met by the King, in such manner as should be decided upon

[1] "Si en faisant ledict voyage en allant en Escosse pour aller querir madicte dame la Daulphine, ledict Pymor et son navire estoient destroussez, le Roy ne luy pourra rien demander de la somme qui luy aura esté baillée, ne aussi ledict Pymor ne luy pourra demander la reste qui luy seroit deue. Mais si ledict Pymor et sa compaignie estoient destroussez au retour d'Escoce, le Roy sera tenu luy payer la reste de la somme pour ce qu'il avoit ses vitailles et tenu son marché." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Item et si ledict Pymor estoit prins en faisant ledict voyage ou en faisant la diligence d'icelluy, le Roy luy sera tenu aider jusques à la somme de quatre cens reaulx." (*Girard.*)

by Regnault Girard as his representative.[1] Finally, the whole sum due to Pymor was to be paid to him one month after his return to France. To the whole contract, however, there was added the important condition that, if the head of the French embassy could arrange in Scotland for more favourable terms and speedier transport, the agreement with Pymor was to become ineffective.[2]

The business for which the Comte de Vendôme and Master Jehan Chasteigner had been sent to La Rochelle was not confined to giving instructions to the ambassadors and to drawing up terms for the chartering of a convoy. Charles VII was reduced to such desperate financial straits at the time that he had no funds to defray the expenses of the mission to Scotland. In the circumstances the Comte and the Treasurer found themselves under the necessity of raising money on the spot. One of the means devised by them for the purpose was that of requir-

[1] "Item que dedans ung moys après ce que ledict Pymor aura mené son navire en Escoce, on luy baillera sa charge pour le mener pardeça. Et au cas qu'il seroit ou demouroit oultre ledict moys audict pays, soit parce que sa charge ne seroit pas preste ou que le vent ne fust convenable pour retourner, parquoy les vitailles servient amoindries, le Roy le fera de sesdictes vitailles recompenser ainsi et par la maniere que ledict messire Regnault aura esté appoincté."

[2] "Nous luy avons donné (à Regnault Girard) et par ces présentes donnons plain-pouvoir, commission et mandement special de marchander, traicter et appointer au nom de nous audict pais d'Escoce du faict et passage des susditz avecques ceulx qui entendre y vouldront à meilleur compte ou semblable que faict ledict Pymor s'il veoit qu'il soit nostre advantage et l'abregement de la besongne, et de nous obliger à tenir et fournir le marché qu'il fera par la maniere que dessus. . . . Et a esté content ledict Pymor de soy departir dudict marché si meilleur compte s'en peult trouver audit pais d'Escoce ou que pour aultre cause soit plus nostre advantage et l'abregement de la chose de prandre navire en Escoce pour faire ledict passage." (*Girard.*)

ing tenants of the Crown to redeem their feu duties and rents by the payment of a capitalized sum of money. It was in accordance with this scheme that St. Bartholomew's Hospital was called upon to compound for its annual payments into the royal exchequer. In vain did the governor of the hospital and the Town Council protest against the exaction, pleading the privileges granted to the institution, and alleging the general poverty of the country and the consequent increase of their burdens as a further claim to immunity. They were obliged to hand over to Charrier, the Receiver General of Finances, the sum of 500 gold reals, of 64 to the marc. As compensation for the abatement on the amount originally claimed from them, the managers of the hospital were required to make provision for the celebration, through all time to come, in the chapel of St. John, on one Thursday in each month, of a High Mass of the Holy Ghost, for the felicity and prosperity of the King and his lineage, as well as for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom; and, on the death of the King, of a requiem Mass for the repose of his soul. On these terms Charles, under date of the 30th of November, 1434, granted letters patent declaring the domains and possessions of the almonry of St. Bartholomew to be free from all fees, rents, and dues.[1]

[1] Jourdan: *Ephémérides historiques de La Rochelle*, vol. i, pp. 456–7.

IV

The Decisive Embassy

Having received from the lord of Vendôme and the treasurer of La Rochelle the King's instructions, together with the credentials and the letters that were to be presented to the King of Scots, Regnault Girard with his companions, of whom one was his son Joachim, prepared for his departure, of which the 14th of November had been assigned to him as the date. It was an imposing cavalcade, consisting of some five or six score horsemen, and including, in addition to Vendôme and Chasteigner, all the dignitaries of La Rochelle, which, on the afternoon of the appointed day, escorted the departing ambassadors and their attendants for some three miles out of the town, as far as Chef-de-Baie, where lay the ship on which they were to embark. Girard had decided to sail on the *Marie*, a whaler which he himself owned, and of which the master was, "under God", Tassin Petel. It carried sixty-three persons, including both crew and passengers. In accordance with the terms of his contract, Pymor was also to accompany the embassy, but in another ship which, with the shrewd business instinct of a trader, he took the opportunity to load with a cargo of merchandise.

Before stepping into the boat in which he was to be rowed over to the *Marie*, Girard bade Monsieur de Vendôme a distressful farewell, and in view of the hazardous nature of the expedition, of which the timidity of inexperienced landsmen magnified the dangers, the leave-taking "was not without mourning and much weeping on both sides". The *Marie* and her consort began their voyage on the evening tide of the 14th of November. At two o'clock in the morning, on the 18th of the month, they were off the Scilly Isles, when they were overtaken by "so great and marvellous a tempest" that one of them, that which carried Girard and his company, was powerless to make either the Cornish or the Irish coast, and was obliged to take to the open ocean.[1] The storm lasted for five days, and with

[1] "Item le jour susdict (XIIII^me^ jour de novembre) avecques la beneysson de Dieu prismes notre temps et feismes voyle de la marée du soir, et le XVIII^me^ jour dudict moys nous trouvasmes à l'isle de Sorlingues à heure de deux heures après minuyt et illec soubdainement nous prist si grande et merveilleuse tormente que ne peusmes recouvrer l'aure de ladicte isle ne aussi recouvrer la terre d'Illande. Si nous convint, par le conseil des marcans, prendre la grand mer oseane et nous dura ladicte tormente cinq jours et cinq nuyctz et nous gecta pardelà les Ilandes selon la carte plus de cent lieues. Et par force de ladicte tormente escartasmes la nef dudict Pymor, et ladicte tormente cessée retournasmes vers Illande. Et le XXIIII^me^ jour dudict mois de novembre par la grace de Dieu arrivasmes au bout d'Illande à ung très hault et merveilleux rocher nommé Ribon qui est le bout de toutes terres devers Ouest et est terre inhabitable. Et illec getasmes l'ancre à l'abrie dudict rocher. La tormente nous reprist et demourasmes cinq jours à nous defendre contre la tormente, mais noz ancres et nostre cordage furent trop grandement endommagez. Et le XXIX^me^ jour d'icelluy moys de novembre par le conseil des marcans prismes l'adventure de nous couler et maroyer selon la couste d'Illande devers la couste dudict ouest. Et si n'y avoit maistre ne marcant qui oncques à jour de vie y eust maroyé. Item le second jour de decembre trouvasmes terre habitable et passasmes à six lieues de Sainct Patrix, puis passasmes le rax de Cantier qui est passage merveilleux et est le destroit des Illandes et des Isles sauvages d'Escoce,

such violence as to drive the helpless whaler "more than a hundred miles, according to the map, beyond Ireland". When the fury of the gale had abated, the *Marie* turned in an attempt to steer on her old course again. She succeeded in reaching "a very high and marvellous rock called Ribon", which is described as the furthermost land on the west, and uninhabitable. Under shelter of this crag, which unfortunately defies identification, the storm-tossed travellers were able to take shelter from a renewal of the tempest which wrought havoc to their ship's anchors and rigging during the five days it lasted. At length, on the 29th of November, it was decided to skirt the Irish coast, in the hope of being able to reach some peopled portion of it. It was not until the 2nd of December, however, that the battered ship sighted St. Patrick—another place which it has been found impossible to locate, and within six leagues of which she passed before entering the

aussi par la Roge bayée, et nous estans esdictes Illandes sur la mer, ladicte nef dudict Pymor que longuement avoit esté (sic). Et arrivasmes en Escoce le VIII^me^ jour du moys de janvier l'an que dessus, à heure de mynuict, devant l'avre de Lococen. Et ainsi demourasmes en la couste d'Illande depuis le XXIIII^me^ jour dudict moys de novembre jusques au VIII^me^ jour dudict moys de janvier que prismes terre. Et à compter depuis le XXIIII^me^ jour dudict moys de novembre que partismes de la Rochelle jusques audict VIII^me^ jour de janvier demourasmes sur la mer cinquante et six jours, en fin cueur d'hyver et en tormente. Si eusmes fort à souffrir en grandz perilz et advantures qui trop longs seroient à reciter. . . . Puis par nos journées nous en allasmes à Sainct Treignen, au pais de Galee, car nous y estions vouez pour le dangier où avions esté, et luy offrismes une nef d'argent où les armes du Roy furent apposées." (*Girard.*) M. de Beaucourt (*Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 498), mistaking "le pais de Galee" (Galloway) for "le pays de Galles", and failing to identify "Sainct Treignen" with St. Ringan, another name for St. Ninian, who had a famous shrine at Whithorn, sends the sea-worn travellers all the way to Wales with their votive offering.

Race of Kintyre, "which is a marvellous passage, and is the name given to the straits between Ireland and the wild islands of Scotland".

About this time the *Marie* fell in with her former consort, which, whether owing to better luck or better seamanship, had weathered the storm with greater ease, and does not appear to have been driven out of her course by it. Girard's narrative does not give any hint as to the circumstances that occasioned a further delay of more than a month. He only states that his ship lay about the Irish coast until the 8th of January, on which day he and his fellow-travellers having, in the middle of the previous night, cast anchor outside the harbour of Lococen—a name which is vaguely suggestive of some such form as Loch Logan, a possible variant of Port Logan—were at last able to effect a much-longed-for landing. Counting from the 14th of November, when they set sail from La Rochelle, they had been fifty-six days at sea, "in the very heart of winter, and in the midst of storms". And, as the narrator adds, they "had much to suffer, in great perils and adventures which it were too long to rehearse".

On the day after his landing, Girard was taken by Hugh Kennedy to the house of a Lady Campbell, a relative of his, whose son had formerly served in the King of France's body-guard, and by whom they were hospitably entertained. Before continuing their journey to the Scottish Court, the travellers, in fulfilment of a vow which they had made when the fury of the storm threatened them with disaster and

death, made a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. Ringan, at Whithorn, where, as a votive offering, they presented a silver model of a ship, engraved with the king's arms. On the way back to the *Marie*, Hugh Kennedy, being in his own country, took occasion to do his French colleague the honours of his ancestral home, at Castle Kennedy, and "feasted him greatly".[1]

Taking ship again at some point on the Galloway coast, not improbably Stranraer, the ambassadors sailed up the Firth of Clyde, on the last stage of their eventful voyage, and landed safely at Dumbarton, where they made a stay of nine days.[2] Whilst awaiting the return of the messenger whom they had sent on to inform the King of their arrival, and to bring back to them the royal command as to their future movements, they learned that a younger brother of the Earl of Somerset, and therefore of the Queen of Scots, had lately been in Scotland, in great state, and, according to common report, for the purpose of preventing the French marriage. In the circumstances Kennedy was of opinion that, out of consideration for the honour of the King of France and their own dignity as his representatives, it was essential that the embassy should not make its official entry into the capital of Scotland without suitable

[1] "Le XIIII^me^ jour dudict moys, partismes dudict lieu de Sainct Treignen et par noz journées vinsmes à l'hostel de nostre compaignon Cande nommé, et illec nous festoya grandement et feit venir plusieurs de ses parens et amis." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Puis nous en allasmes jusques à Dompbertrain et illec demourasmes l'espace de IX jours en attendant des nouvelles du Roy d'Escoce." (*Girard.*)

accompaniment, or with less display than had been made by the Englishmen who had preceded it, and who had returned to their own country only a fortnight before. In order to provide for a sufficiently imposing escort, he summoned to him his kinsmen and his friends. And it was with a goodly company of at least sixty knights and esquires that Girard and the French party left Dumbarton for Edinburgh on the 22nd of January.[1] They were met at Linlithgow by the Bishop of Brechin and other high dignitaries; and their entry into Edinburgh, on the 25th of the month, was as stately and as effective as Kennedy could wish, John Foulis, Lord Privy Seal, and several prelates, the Lord High Chamberlain, and William Crichton, Master of the King's Household, accompanied by many knights and esquires, having ridden out to meet the French guests and to welcome them in the King's name. Quarters had been secured for the whole party, and those assigned to Girard were in the house of Alexander Napier.

The meeting between James I and the representatives of the King of France was not long delayed. It took place on the 26th of January, in the hall of

[1] "Auquel lieu de Dompbertrain sceusmes des nouvelles que le frere de la Royne d'Escoce et frere du comte de Sommerset en Angleterre estoit venu en Escoce en grand estat, et estoit le dict commun qu'il s'estoit esforsé de empescher le mariage de mondict Sr. le Daulphin et avoit pris son congé quinze jours ou environ avant nostre venue. Et ce voyant, nostredict compaignon Kenede nous dit que ce ne seroit pas l'honneur du Roy que son ambassade entrast en la ville de Edempbourg, qui est la maitresse ville d'Escoce, qu'elle ne fut point acompagnée, veu les termes que y avoient tenu lesdictz Angloix. Si manda querir de ses parens et amys, chevaliers et escuyers, en maniere que quant nous entrasmes en ladicte ville nous estions soixante chevaulx et plus." (*Girard.*)

the Grey Friars. Girard and his colleagues were received in great state and with every mark of respect and courtesy by the King, with whom were the Bishops of Aberdeen and of Brechin, and many other high dignitaries of the Church. Amongst the Lords Temporal there figured the Earl of Glammis, the Earl of Douglas, and the Earl of Orkney, besides many barons, knights, and esquires. The ambassadors having presented to the King the letters with which they had been entrusted for him by their sovereign, and Girard having further set forth the special object of his mission, in accordance with the detailed instructions which he had received before his departure, James appointed several of his council to discuss with the ambassadors the various matters in question. Five or six days were spent in conferences that led to no agreement. Disappointed at the unsatisfactory course which the negotiations were taking, the King abruptly left the capital and removed to Perth, after sending instructions to the French ambassadors to meet him there, on the 21st of February, and informing them that, in the meanwhile, he would take counsel with the Queen.[1]

In conformity with the royal wishes, Girard and his colleagues left Edinburgh on the 18th of February, reached Perth on the 20th, and were next day presented to the Queen and to the Princess, by whom

[1] "Et le jour ensuyvant feusmes assemblez et par cinq ou six jours et vacasmes sur ladicte matiere. Mais ne nous peusmes bonnement appoincter. Et tost après ledict Roy d'Escoce s'en partist et nous manda que nous rendissions à luy à Sainct Genston au XXI^me^ jour du moys de fevrier et que de ceste matiere il vouloit bien parler à la Royne." (*Girard.*)

they were most graciously received, and to whom they delivered the letters addressed to them personally by King Charles. Negotiations were then resumed, but restricted to the single question of the marriage. They resulted in an agreement which received the King's signature on the 26th, but which was not to become effective until it had been submitted to Charles and accepted by him.

The main stipulations were that the Dauphiness should set out for France before the end of the following month of May; that, for the safety of her person, she should have an escort of two thousand fighting men; that she should take ship at Dumbarton; and that she should be provided with a suitable outfit, of which the details were left to the discretion of her royal parents. By reason of the danger and difficulty that would attend any attempt to bring round to the western coast a sufficient number of Scottish ships, it was proposed that the King of France should undertake to furnish an adequate squadron. With regard to supplies, it was suggested that Charles should provide bread, biscuits, salt, and drink, whilst, as his share, James should contribute meat, fish, butter, cheese, and wood. And it was from him, too, that the two thousand men who constituted the military escort were to draw their pay up to the time of their landing at La Rochelle. Before they left Scotland it was to be definitely decided whether the King of France intended to avail himself of their services for the defence of his kingdom; and, in the event of his

determining to retain them, it was distinctly to be stated what arrangements were to be made for their maintenance. And, as a reason for requiring precise information on this last point, it was suggestively explained that the King of Scots did not wish to send over men "who would pillage and rob his brother's kingdom". If the two thousand men were to act as an escort only, and not to be incorporated in the army of France, it would be incumbent on King James to make such arrangements as might be necessary for their return home.

For the purpose of coming to a definite decision, and of finally adjusting conditions with regard to these various points, Hugh Kennedy and Master Aymery Martineau were to return to France with the pursuivant, who was to be the bearer of the document that embodied the terms provisionally agreed upon between the King of Scots and the ambassadors, and to bring it back after it had been ratified by the King of France. It was also stipulated that, if the squadron to be sent from France arrived within the limit of time assigned to it, but were detained in Scotland beyond the date fixed for its return, the expenses entailed by the delay were to be borne by James.[1]

[1] "Premierement est appoincté que madicte dame la Daulphine passera en France dedans la fin du moys de may prochainement venant, et pour l'acompaigner et aussi pour la seurté de sa personne y aura deux mil combatans, et prendra son port et passaige en havre de Dombertrain en l'ouest d'Escoce et l'envoyera ledict Roy d'Escoce au Roy de France son frere en telz habillemens qu'il luy semble que à faire sera. Et sur ce l'on s'en rapporte du tout à son vouloir. Item pour ce que l'Ouest d'Escoce n'est pas fort garny de navire, que ce seroit chose très difficille et perilleuse de faire venir le navire du nort estant

With regard to the Dauphiness herself, whom it was assumed that the King of France and his consort would receive as if she were their own daughter, King James enquired solicitously as to the arrangements which it was intended to make for her suitable maintenance. He suggested that she should be given an establishment of her own in some fortified town to be placed under the command of a Scots-

audict royaulme au dessusdict havre de Dombertrain, est appoincté que le Roy de France pourchassera navire à ses coustages pour amenner madicte dame la Daulphine avec le nombre de deux mil combatans comme dict est, et fera venir ledict navire dedans le temps et en havre dessusdict, avitaillez de pain, bescuiz, bevrages, sel, et de toutes aultres vitailles appartenans au navire fors et excepté celles cy dessoubz nommées, et pour la menner et conduire en sa ville de la Rochelle, et la fera recevoir comme sa propre fille et ainsi que à son estat appartient. Item est appointé que le Roy d'Escoce de sa part baillera lesditz deux mil combatans pour acompaigner madicte dame la Daulphine et pour la seurté de sa personne, et gens bien en point qui la conduiront jusques en ladicte ville de la Rochelle et lesquelz seront souldoiez et contentez aux despens dudict Roy d'Escoce. Item ledict Roy d'Escosse sera tenu de bailler vitailles comme chairs, poissons, beurres, fromaiges et boys pour avitailler ledict navire et le nombre de gens dessusdictz pour amenner madicte dame la Daulphine. Item si le Roy de France son frere avoit à besongner desdictz deux mil combatans pour la defense de son royaulme, ledict Roy d'Escoce est content qu'ils demeurent de pardelà, mais il désire et veult savoir, avantque le passaige se face, si sondict frere le Roy de France veult retenir lesditz deux mil combatans ou non. Et aussi veult savoir quel appoinctement l'on leur fera par delà pour eulx y demourer et entretenir. Car il [ne] veult point envoier gens qui pilent et robent le royaulme de sondict frere. Et si le Roy de France ne veult que lesdictz deux mil combatans demeurent en son royaulme, le Roy d'Escoce leur donera provision de navire et de ce qui leur sera necessaire pour eulx en retourner à son obeissance, et pour appoincter sur ceste matiere et aultres poinctz cy dessoubz declarez vont devers le Roy de France lesditz Hue Cannede et Aymeri Martineau. Item est appoincté que ledict Roy d'Escoce fera par maniere que madicte dame la Daulphine avecques ceulx qui doyvent venir en sa compaignie seront tous prestz dedans ung moys après que le navire sera arrivé audict havre, et aussi les vitailles qu'il est tenu faire de sa part, ainsi que dessus est dict. Et en cas que par son defaulx il ait retardement, il sera tenu de paier et contenter les marchans et maistres dudict navire pour cause de la demeure et dudict retardement pourveu que ledict navire vienne dedans le temps dessusdict ou dedans temps convenable." (*Girard.*)

man, where she might reside with her own Scottish ladies and attendants until the consummation of her marriage. That the governor to be appointed should be a person acceptable to Charles was spontaneously conceded, and it was further undertaken that he should promise on oath to surrender his command as soon as the Dauphiness went to live with her husband. It was also recognized as reasonable that there should be some French ladies in the household of the Dauphiness, in order that she might learn from them to bear herself in a manner suitable to her rank, and in accordance with the customs of the country. And it was further admitted that she should take up her temporary residence with the King and Queen as often as they might wish to have her with them.

The more thoroughly to ensure the Princess Margaret's safety on her journey to France and to prevent her falling into the hands of the English, "the old enemies of the two kingdoms", it was asked that, in addition to the other vessels of the squadron, there should be for her special use a galley manned by rowers and defended by crossbowmen. In order to lighten the additional expense which this would entail, James undertook to supply such necessary provisions as flesh and fish, and also to bear the costs of the non-combatants, whether men or women, whom it might be found expedient to send over as attendants on the Princess.[1]

[1] "Item le Roy d'Escoce desire savoir, madicte dame la Daulphine arrivée en la ville de la Rochelle et presentée au Roy de France son frère et à sa seur la

On the Monday before Lent, in the year 1434, Hugh Kennedy, Aymery Martineau, and Joachim Girard left Perth on their way to France, as bearers of the articles which embodied both the conditions set down by the King of Scots and the concessions obtained from him by the ambassadors, and which were to be submitted to Charles, either for such modifications as he on his side might deem fit to claim, or for the final approval and sanction that were to make them binding on both parties. It was "not without great annoyance and displeasure" that Regnault Girard remained behind to await the royal reply. To be near the person of the young

Royne, où demourera la Daulphine sa fille. Car il luy semble qu'elle doit avoir ung retraict convenable pour elle jusques à la consommation du mariage et pour aucunes choses que diront les dessusdictz, et desire que l'on luy baillast une place pour la retraicte et demeure d'elle et de ses gens, laquelle place fust gardée par ung des siens, et aussi qu'elle fust acompaignée de dames et aultres serviteurs pour aucunes causes que diront les dessusdictz jusques à la consommation du mariage, comme dessus est dict. Vray est que ledict Roy d'Escoce est content que celuy qui sera à la garde de ladicte place soit agreable au Roy de France son beau frere et qu'il luy ait serrement que incontinent le mariage consommé iceluy rendra ladicte place pour en disposer à son bon plaisir. Item et si est content que toutesfoys et quantesfoys qu'il plaira au Roy de France son frere ou à la Royne sa seur mander madicte dame la Daulphine, qu'elle y alle pardevers eulx ainsi que de raison est. Et si est content que l'on luy baille à madicte dame la Daulphine gentilzhommes, dames et damoyselles de la nation de France pour luy apprandre son estat et les manieres par delà qu'il plaira au Roy son frere et à la Royne sa seur ordonner. Item desire ledict Roy d'Escoce que pour la seurté de madicte dame la Daulphine et pour obvier qu'elle ne choye entre les mains des Angloix, anciens ennemis des deux Royaulmes, que jà n'aveigne, que ledict Roy de France envoiast une galée garnye de vogueurs et arbalestiers oultre le navire dessusdictz deux mil combatans qui iront à la conduicte de madicte dame la Daulphine. Et ledict Roy d'Escoce est content de leur bailler provisions comme chairs, poysons et aultres vitailles, comme dessus est dict. Et si est content que en faisant venir ladicte galée, pour alleger de mise le Roy sondict frere, que tous ceulx qui ne seront de defense, soient hommes ou femmes, bagues et cariages soient passez à ses depens, et leur pourchassera navire." (*Girard.*)

Dauphiness, he removed after her from Perth to Stirling, which he made his chief residence during the remainder of his stay in Scotland. With kindly consideration for his home-sick guest, King James afforded him opportunities for visiting some of the chief cities in the country, such as Dundee and St. Andrews. Wherever he went he was most honourably received and hospitably entertained out of respect for the Sovereign whom he represented, and towards whom, as he reports, neither churchmen, nor nobles, nor the commonalty could have shown greater goodwill and loyalty if they had been his subjects.[1]

The end of May had been appointed by James as the time before which he would expect the arrival of the French squadron. But, as week followed week without bringing even news from France, Girard craved audience of him, and laying great stress on the state of the weather and the lack of favourable winds, to which untoward circumstances

[1] "Et je Regnault Girart demourey seul par delà en atendant la response telle qu'il plairoit au Roy me mander et commander, qui ne fut sans grant ennuy et desplaisir. Et tost après pour ce que madicte dame la Daulphine faisoit sa demeure en la ville de Esterim, je m'en allay en icelle ville en laquelle je faisoys ma principale residance. . . . Pendant ce que mesdicts compaignons et mondict filz estoient en France, ledict Roy d'Escoce m'envoya en plusieurs bonnes villes de son royaulme pour passer temps et me mettre hors d'ennuy, et me bailla gens pour m'acompaigner et fuz en sa ville de Dondi où je fus grandement festoié par les bourgeois de sadicte ville, et à Sainct Andrieu où je fus aussi festoié tant par l'evesque que aussi par le prieur dudict lieu, et vindrent ceulx de l'Université me faire une proposition, et fuz en plusieurs aultres villes et abbayes notablement receu. Et à veoir dire, en quelque part que je allasse, pour honneur du Roy ou me faisait honnorable reception et de grans honneurs, tant gens d'églises, nobles, que gens de commun, et monstroient si grand vouloir au faict du Roy qu'il me semble qu'il ne pourroit estre de meilleurs ne plus loyaulx François." (*Girard.*)

he chose to attribute the delay that had occurred, rather than to admit what he probably suspected to be the real cause, the characteristic dilatoriness of Charles, he requested an extension of the time limit. Girard succeeded in presenting his case so plausibly that the King consented to overlook what he would have been justified in regarding as a sufficient reason for breaking off the negotiations, and postponed further action till the 20th of the following September.[1] Before that date Aymery Martineau and the pursuivant returned to Scotland bearing letters for both the King and Girard, as well as special instructions for the latter.

Writing from Tours, on the 28th of May, Charles desired his ambassador to communicate to King James the reply of his dearest brother and ally on each of the four points that were raised in the articles transmitted to him from Scotland. With regard to the coming of the Princess Margaret, her royal father was to be informed that instructions had been given to Pymor to provide a sufficient number of ships for the expedition; that the squadron would leave La Rochelle no later than the 15th of July; and that the suggested division of the expenses connected with the supply of provisions had been accepted.

[1] "Et pour ce que je feuz long temps sans oyr des nouvelles du Roy et que je vey que la fin du moys de may s'aprocheoit, dedans lequel temps le navire devoit venir selon le contenu dudict appoinctement pris avecques ledict Roy d'Escoce comme dict est, me tiray pardevers luy et luy remonstray comme faict du navire ne pouvoit estre à jour nommé, tant pour la diversité des temps que aussi par desfault de vent acceptable, et feys tant qu'il me prorogea ledict jour dessus enfin du moys de may jusques au XX^me^ jour de septembre ensuyvant, mil IIII^c^ XXXV." (*Girard.*)

As to the retention of the two thousand men who were to compose the escort, the announcement was to be made that their services would not be required in France, and that they would be expected to return to their own country as soon as the Dauphiness had landed at La Rochelle. In justification of this decision it was to be pointed out that the season would be far advanced by the time the men reached France, and that there would consequently be no possibility of making any use of them till the summer. And as a further reason, it was to be stated that a conference was shortly to be held at Arras between representatives of the King of France, the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, and that the peace which was to be the subject of their deliberations, and which it was hoped might be the result of them, would render military help unnecessary.[1]

No definite answer could be returned to the Scottish King in respect of his demand for a special galley to convey his daughter to La Rochelle. Negotiations had been entered upon with the King of Spain with

[1] "Item en tant que touche lesdictz II^{M} hommes qui doibvent conduire madicte dame la Daulphine, lesquels le Roy d'Escoce offre demourer de pardeça au service du Roy au cas qu'il en ait à faire, lesdictz ambassadeurs diront que le Roy a eu advis sur ce, et pource que la venue de madicte dame sera sur la fin de ceste saison et que desdictes gens le Roy ne se pourroit prestement servir jusques à l'aultre esté ensuyvant, n'a pas semblé necessaire la demeure desdites gens de pardeça, et pour ce a deliberé le Roy que incontinent que madicte dame la Daulphine sera descendue à terre, qu'ilz s'en retournent en Escoce, et mercie le Roy sondict frere le Roy d'Escoce de l'offre desdictes gens, et a bien intention le Roy de requerir le Roy d'Escoce à son besoing, esperant qu'il lui aidera et secourera comme touiours a faict. Mais pour le present n'en est besoing comme dict est, mesmement aussi que certaine journée est entreprinse en la ville l'Arras au premier jour de juillet prochainement venant pour traicter de paix final entre le Roy et les Angloix et avec le duc de Bourgongne." (*Girard.*)

a view to obtaining such a ship as was desired, and were being carried on with all diligence, but it was not yet known what the issue might be. Should it prove favourable the galley would sail with the squadron by the 15th of July, at latest. In that case, other ships would be provided for the transport of sixteen hundred men only. In any event, however, the assurance might be given that no craft would be sent to Scotland but such as were good, light, and as seaworthy as could be found on the whole coast of Spain.[1]

To the claim that the Dauphiness should be provided with a separate establishment until the time came when she and her husband had attained the age when they could set up one together a courteous but distinct and firm refusal was to be given. And for his inability to accede in this matter to the desire expressed by King James, Charles assigned the valid and cogent reason that it did not seem to him "chose honneste et convenable" that the Princess should reside anywhere but with the Queen, who would treat her as a daughter, and would teach her

[1] "Item en tant que touche la galée requise et demandée pour le passage de madicte dame, que le Roy envoye presentement en Espaigne pourchasser ladicte galée et en faict toute diligence possible et en escrit à son frere le Roy d'Espaigne, et doibvent estre brievement devers le Roy les ambassadeurs dudict Roy d'Espaigne avecques lesquelz le Roy pourchassera à toute diligence qu'il puisse avoir ladicte galée, et si elle peult estre venue dedans ledict XV^me^ jour de juillet, comme dict est, l'envoyera le Roy avecques l'aultre navire pour le passage de madicte dame. Et au cas qu'il envoyera ladicte galée, il n'envoyera d'aultre navire que pour le passage de XVI^c^ hommes seullement, sans icelle galée. Et s'il ne peult recouvrer ladicte galée, il envoyera navire pour deux mil hommes, comme dict est, bon, legier et le meilleur et le plus seur qu'il se pourra trouver en toute la couste d'Espaigne." (*Girard.*)

the bearing and the manners that would be expected of her in France.[1]

1 "Item en tant que touche une place ou chastel que demande le Roy d'Escoce pour la demeure de madicte dame la Daulphine jusques à ce qu'elle soit en aage que le mariage puisse estre consommé, diront les dessusdictz que le Roy a intention que tantost que madicte dame sera descendue en France, qu'elle vienne devers luy et incontinent fera solemniser le mariage de mondict seigneur le Daulphin et d'elle, et sera sa demeurance avecques la Royne comme sa fille, afin quelle appreigne les estaz et manieres de France, et ne luy semble chose honneste ou convenable que elle demourast ailleurs fors avecques la Royne pour les causes devant dictes. Et par ce n'a besoing d'avoir aucune place pour sa demeurance." (*Girard.*)

V

Margaret's Departure from Scotland

On the 12th of September Pymor with his squadron of transports cast anchor in the Clyde, off Dumbarton. He was accompanied by Hugh Kennedy and Joachim Girard, who were bearers of letters for the King as well as of letters and further instructions for Regnault. To his very dear and beloved brother, Charles, in courtly and ceremonious language, wrote to inform him that he had performed his part of the agreement in respect of the freighting and provisioning of the ships, and to request him to use the utmost diligence in the fulfilment of his obligations by sending his daughter to La Rochelle, where orders had already been given to accord her such a reception as befitted the honour of both sovereigns, and as would give the King of Scots cause to feel "greatly contented and very joyful".

In addition to a commission which conferred upon him full powers to make all further arrangements for the voyage to France, now that Pymor, having been duly paid the amount which he was entitled to receive in advance, in terms of his contract, had arrived at Dumbarton, and was awaiting the convenience and pleasure of King James, Girard received

additional directions as to what he was to do and to say in furtherance of the double purpose of reconciling James to what had been left undone and of inducing him to expedite what still remained to be done. It was to be explained to him that efforts had been made to procure a galley such as he desired for his daughter's use, but had proved unsuccessful, owing, in the first place, to the want of sufficient time, and in the next, to the state of hostilities which existed between the King of Arragon and the King of Castille, and made it extremely difficult for any ship to leave the latter kingdom.[1] He was to be very urgently requested to send the Dauphiness over to La Rochelle, whence she would be taken in due state to the French Court, for the immediate celebration of her marriage. Should any unfavourable comments be made in Scotland as to the King of France's omission to send over any of the great nobles of his Court to accompany the Princess on her voyage, Regnault was to give as much plausibility as he could to the ostensible explanation that his royal master had held several councils and deliberations on that point, but had finally come to the rather unintelligible conclusion that it was not to be done, in view of the treaties and conventions respecting the marriage; that the course he had decided

[1] "Item dira que le Roy à present n'a peu recouvrer d'aucune galée pour envoier prestement en Escoce, tant pour la briefveté de temps que aussi pource que, comme on dit, le Roy de Castelle et le Roy d'Arragon ne sont encores en conclusion de paix, parquoy dudict royaulme de Castelle ne part aucun navire si non à tres grand difficulté, et toutesfoys le Roy avoit pour ce envoié en Castelle, mais il n'en a eu encores response." (*Girard.*)

upon seemed to him to be the least likely to detract from the honour of the King of Scots; and that, as soon as the Dauphiness had set foot in France, she should be received in such a way as would amply do honour to both sovereigns and afford the most convincing testimony to the satisfaction caused by her coming.[1]

As to the number of Scottish attendants that James might wish to give the Princess, no limit or restriction was to be suggested in so far as the voyage itself was concerned; but he was to be given to understand, as deferentially and as persuasively as might be, that the arrangement which it was intended to make for the purpose of providing a suitable establishment of both men and women, would be such that no others would be required. If, in spite of this rather specious than convincing reason, the King's insistence made some concession necessary, it was to be as slight as possible, and not to exceed the retention of one or two women and as many men.[2]

[1] "Et si on parloit en Escoce que le Roy deust avoir envoyé aucuns grans seigneurs de par deça pour acompaigner madicte dame la Daulphine, ledict messire Regnault respondra que le Roy a tenu sur ce plusieurs conseilz et deliberations, mais en fin il a semblé que faire ne se devoit veu les traictez et convenances dudict mariage, et que ce eust esté plus detrayre à l'honneur du Roy d'Escoce que autrement, ce que le Roy ne vouldroit jamais faire; mais après qu'elle sera descendue en son royaulme, elle sera tellement receue et acompaignée que l'honneur du Roy et du Roy d'Escoce y seront gardez tout oultre et que le Roy d'Escoce congnoistra bien le plaisir que le Roy prent à sa venue." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Et si ledict messire Regnault sentoit que le Roy d'Escoce voulsist ordonner gens, seigneurs et dames, pour demourer pardeça avec madicte dame la Daulphine, il tendra par toutes les meilleures manieres et bons moiens honnestes et seurs qu'il pourra qu'il ne soit faict. Car le Roy pourvoyera tellement à l'estat

It was thought advisable that James should realize that the improvement which had taken place in the condition of France now imparted a far greater importance to an alliance with Charles than was the case when negotiations were first entered upon. It was consequently suggested to Girard to let it be known at Court and elsewhere that, since the embassy had been in Scotland, the fortune of war had continued to favour the French; that they had taken the town and abbey of St. Denis; that the bridge of St. Maixent, on which the crossing of the Oise depended, was in their hands; that the town of Rueil and several other important places had likewise been wrested from the enemy; that the Earl of Arundel had been signally defeated; and that the King, by sending large forces of men-at-arms and of archers to the Marches of Normandy, to the Loire, and to the Seine, had already succeeded in ridding a great part of the country of the soldiery, from whose lawlessness and excesses the inhabitants had so long suffered. And as for the immediate future, it was

de madicte dame la Daulphine, tant au gouvernement de sa personne comme aultrement, et de hommes et de femmes de tous estatz, que le Roy d'Escoce en tous cas en pourra estre seur et de ce estre bien content, et en fera le Roy et la Royne comme si elle estoit leur fille charnelle, et de ce ne soit faict doubte, et se on s'y arrestoit fort, qu'elle en ait le moins que faire se pourra, comme une ou deux femmes et autant d'hommes. Car tant qu'elle aura avecques elle de gens de sa nation, elle ne apprandra voluntiers françoys ne l'estat de ce royaulme. On ne dit pas que pour passer et gouverner madame la Daulphine en voiage et jusques à la Rochelle elle ne ait seigneurs et dames telz et tant qu'il plaira au Roy d'Escoce luy bailler, lesquelz s'en pourront tourner en Escoce avec les deux mil combatans et aultres qu'il plaira au Roy d'Escoce luy bailler pour la conduire et menner jusques à la Rochelle ainsi qu'il a esté dict audict Martineau." (*Girard.*)

hoped that the conference which was to be held at Arras, and for which imposing preparations were already on foot, would result in a peace that would contribute still further to the glory of the King of France and the good of the country.

Regnault Girard, accompanied by his colleagues, lost no time in proceeding to Stirling, to inform the King of the safe arrival of the squadron, to deliver into his hands the letters addressed to him by the King of France, and to beseech him to speed the preparations for the Princess Margaret's departure, and to send her to France without further delay.

In the game of fast and loose between the two monarchs it was now the turn of James to hold back. He objected that the coming of the ships had been unduly retarded, and that winter was now approaching, and with it the season when marriage between all respectable folk was forbidden—"où tout maryage entre gens de bien est défendu"—an ecclesiastical restriction of which Girard had tried to avail himself in his vain attempt to avoid being sent to Scotland. On behalf of the Queen, he declared that nothing would induce her to allow her daughter to brave the perils of so long a journey at such a time. He also reminded Girard of the dangers to which he himself had been exposed and of the sufferings which he had undergone on his journey to Scotland. And, for all these reasons, he expressed his determination to keep the Princess at home till the spring, and fixed "the moon of the month of March" as

the earliest date at which he would consent to her departure.[1]

As a sequel to this decision, there arose the question of liability for the expenses, calculated at something between ten and twelve thousand demies, which would be incurred by Pymor's ships and their crews during their enforced stay in Scotland. James contended that they should be borne by the King of France. Girard, on the other hand, maintained that they should be defrayed by James. In support of his view, he produced the letter by which an extension of time from the end of May to the 20th of September had been granted. He pointed out that the limit thus set had not been overstepped; and he further strengthened his case by calling attention to the fact that those who were to accompany the Princess were not ready to sail. And, a fact more cogent than much reasoning, he declared himself incompetent to come to any terms with regard to a matter which neither he nor his colleagues had received instructions to discuss or power to settle.[2]

[1] "Item ledict Roy d'Escoce me feist response que ledict navire avoit trop tardé à venir et que l'on estoit sur l'hyver où tout maryage entre gens de bien est defendu et que bonnement il ne pourroit envoier encores madicte dame la Daulphine en celle saison et que pour riens la Royne sa mere ne le souffreroit pour le dangier qu'il s'en pourroit ensuyr et que nous mesmes savions bien en quel dangier avons esté en venant audict pais d'Escoce, mais que en la saison nouvelle ensuyvant en la lune du moys de mars il l'envoyeroit et la mettroit à l'adventure de Dieu." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Lors fut la question que l'on feroit dudict navire ne comme il pourroit sejourner si longuement de pardelà ne à quelz gaiges et fraiz il pourroit estre entretenu. Le Roy d'Ecoce disoit, pource que le navire n'estoit pas venu au temps nommé audict appoinctement, que le navire devoit estre entretenu aux fraiz et despens dudict Roy de France son frère. Je Regnault Girart disoye que ledict navire devoit estre aux fraiz et despens dudict Roy d'Escoce, parce

All these considerations having failed to move the King from his position, Girard thought the time had come to assume a different attitude. In his next interview he produced and respectfully begged leave to read the commission which he had received from his royal master, and which instructed him to require and request the King of Scots to send his daughter to France without further delay, in accordance with the treaty and convention to which he had affixed his signature.

The new turn that had thus been given to the discussion seemed to take James by surprise and to disconcert him. He made no immediate reply; but, after having read the commission himself, he asked to be allowed to keep the document until the following day, that he might show it to the Queen and to his Council. As a consequence of the French ambassador's bold action he found himself in a delicate position. If, on the one hand, he was unwilling to run the risk of a breach with France by ignoring Girard's formal appeal, a line of conduct that would

que, combien qu'il fut dict par l'appoinctement que le navire devoit venir dedans la fin du moys de may, que ledict Roy m'avoit prorogé ledict jour en absence de mesditz compaignons jusques audict XX^me^ jour de septembre; autrement je vouloye demander ledict navire et disoye que dedans icelluy jour ledict navire estoit arrivé. Et pour ce si ledict Roy d'Escoce vouloit que ledict navire sejournast, que ledict sejour devoit estre à ses despens. Et monstroye et enseignoye la cedule signée de sa main du delay que m'avoit donné. Et disoye oultre que mesdictz compaignons ne moy n'avions commandement du Roy ne instruction de par luy de faire aucun appoinctement en ceste matiere, et aussi à veoir dire, les gens qui devoient venir de par ledict Roy d'Ecoce pour la conduicte de madicte dame la Daulphine, n'estoient pas prestz. Ledict Roi d'Escoce debatoit fort que le Roy entretint le faix et charge dudict navire, qui n'estoit pas peu de chose, car c'estoit demy an ou environ que duroit ledict sejour, qui pouvoit monter de dix à douze mil demys d'or monnoye d'Escoce." (*Girard.*)

have implied a repudiation of the agreement between him and Charles, on the other, he was well aware that, by reason of a remissness for which he could not avoid bearing the responsibility, he was powerless to yield the immediate compliance that was demanded of him. There seemed to be but one way out of the difficulty. It lay in the compromise that might be effected by consenting to defray the expenses that would accrue from the detention of Pymor's squadron for a whole half year. And such was the purport of the decision which he next day communicated to the ambassadors, begging them, at the same time, to submit patiently to the unavoidable delay. It was hardly a matter of choice for them, in the circumstances; and Girard found himself once again obliged to spend the winter in Scotland. To add to his troubles, there occurred a "great mortality" amongst the sailors of the French squadron, and many of them died before the return of spring.[1]

[1] "Item quant je vey les termes que le Roy d'Ecoce tenoit en ceste matiere, il me sembla qu'il estoit mestier que je me aidasse du mandement dessus escript que le Roy m'avoit dernier envoié. Si me transportay pardevers ledict Roy et en grand humilité luy presentay ledict mandement en luy suppliant qu'il luy pleust le faire lire. Ledict Roy d'Escoce prist ledict mandement et le leust. Et après la lecture d'icelluy, luy fey sommation et requeste de par le Roy d'envoier madicte dame la Daulphine et de tenir les appoinctemens par luy faictz sur ceste matiere avecques mesditz compaignons et moy. Item ledict Roy me feyt response qu'il me priait que je luy laissasse ledict mandement pour le monstrer à la Royne et son conseil et que le jour suyvant il le me rendroit. Si luy laissay ledict mandement et à tant me departy de luy. Item le jour suyvant je fuz devers ledict Roy, lequel me feist response qu'il estoit content de paier et desfrayer ledict sejour du navire et de s'en appoincter avecques les maistres et que mesdictz compaignons et moy eussions patience d'atendre jusques audict moys de mars, auquel moys il envoyeroit madicte dame la Daulphine bien et honnorablement acompaignée." (*Girard.*)

There now seemed to be a wish on both sides to terminate the long protracted business. As early as the beginning of February, "about Candlemas time", the French commissioners proceeded to Perth, and earnestly besought the King, in view of the near approach of the month of March, to be pleased to let them know what final measures were to be taken with regard to the Princess Margaret's departure for France. James at once took the matter in hand, and entered into consultation with the ambassadors as to the retinue that was to accompany the Princess on the voyage, the composition of the military escort, and the special measures of precaution that were to be taken to ensure her safety. He was graciously pleased to invite them to a banquet, and did them the further honour of giving them seats at the table at which he presided with the Queen.

As the outcome of the conferences to which the representatives of the King of France were summoned, it was decided that Regnault Girard, with his son Joachim, and Aymery Martineau, should proceed to Dumbarton to see that the ships were duly put into commission, while Hugh Kennedy remained behind to superintend the levying and equipping of the military force.[1] Before their departure they were received in state by the King and Queen, who, on the occasion, were accompanied by the Princess Margaret, and who, in their presence, spoke many

[1] "Et fut ordonné que nous Regnault Girart, Aymery Martineau et Joachin yrions à Dombertram pour ordonner sur le faict de navire, et ledict Hue Kennedi demourroit pour adviser et avancer le faict de l'armée." (*Girard.*)

"fair and notable words" to their daughter, impressing on her how great was the honour which the King of France was doing them, telling her of the exalted station of the Prince to whom she was to be espoused, and exhorting her to bear herself worthily in all things. "God knows," says Girard, in his account of the reception, "what great weeping there was on both sides." And he adds that, as he was taking his leave, the King, in honour of his brother the King of France, commanded him, Regnault Girard, to kiss the Queen; and that the Queen, in her gracious condescension, kissed him in return, which he considered to be the greatest honour ever bestowed upon him.[1]

On the morrow, the King sent his parting guests "great gifts". That the nature of them is not more particularly specified might seem to indicate that they were not of exceptional value. But, even if this should have been the case, any suspicion of niggardliness on the part of James is dispelled by the further information that all the ordinary expenses incurred by the members of the French party, from the time of their arrival in Edinburgh, which was on the 25th

[1] "Le jour suyvant emprès audict lieu de Sainct Jehanstonn lesditz Roy et Royne d'Escoce feirent venir en noz presences madicte dame la Daulphine et luy dirent plusieurs beaux motz et notables en luy remonstrant l'honneur que le Roy de France leur faisoit et l'honneur du prince avec lequel elle devoit estre esposée et en la inhortant de bien faire, et Dieu sait les grans pleurs qui d'une part et d'aultre estoient faictz en ceste matiere. Et ce faict, prismes nostre congé, et ledict Roy pour honneur du Roy de France sondict frere commanda à moy Regnault Girart bayser la Royne, laquelle de sa grace et humilité me baysa, que je repute le plus grand honneur qui oncques m'advint, et à tant nous despartismes." (*Girard.*)

of January, 1434, to the day of their departure from Perth, on the 15th of February, 1435, was defrayed by the royal Treasury.[1]

Girard's first care on reaching Dumbarton was to call together the masters of the ships, and to consult with them as to the approximate date on which they could be ready to sail, if God granted them a favourable wind. "Very joyful" at the prospect of returning home, they were at one in the opinion that everything could be got ready by the first tides of the March moon. And this decision was at once conveyed to the King, together with an earnest request that there should be no delay on his part. Shortly after this, Regnault Girard, leaving Aymery and Joachim on shore to look after the seamen and to superintend their work, betook himself on board one of the ships that lay off the haven of Dumbarton. At this the King of Scots was greatly pleased, for it was at once reported throughout his whole kingdom that the Knight from France had already taken ship, and the news was very helpful towards the speeding up of the military preparations. Girard remained at anchor in the Clyde for a fortnight, enduring much discomfort, before the King made his appearance with the Princess Margaret and the troops that were

[1] "Item le jour suyvant, en nostre logis dudict lieu de Sainct Jehanstonn, ledict Roy nous envoya de grans dons, et si ne faict pas à oblier que depuis que nous arrivasmes audict royaume d'Escoce devers luy en sa ville de Edembourg, qui fut le XXV^me^ jour de janvier l'an mil IIII^c^XXXIIII, jusques à ce que preismes nostre congé de luy audict lieu de Sainct Jehanstonn, qui fut au moys de fevrier mil IIII^c^XXXV, nous feit desfrayer et paier nostre despense ordinaire, quelque part que feussions en sondict royaulme." (*Girard.*)

to escort her.[1] Whilst he was there a ship came from France. It brought provisions, and, in addition to these, a very pretty mule, which the lord of Vendôme had noticed when he was at La Rochelle, on the occasion of Girard's sailing for the north, and which he had advised the ambassador to get sent him as a suitable gift for the Scottish King. James was delighted to accept the animal. It was considered "a very strange thing over yonder, which proves that there were none in the country". Nor had Queen Joan been forgotten. In addition to six casks of wine, and by reason of the scarcity of fruit in her own country, three barrels of large chestnuts, pears, and apples of various kinds had been expressly ordered, and had come over from France as presents for her. And she, too, was greatly pleased.[2]

On his arrival at Dumbarton, in the early days of March, the King held a review of the squadron, which, according to Girard, whose authority can

[1] "Et tost après je Reginault Girard m'en allay embarger et tenir la mer sur l'ancre près de l'avre dudict lieu de Dompbertrain. De quoy ledict Roy d'Escoce fut bien content. Car incontinent il couru parolle par tout son royaulme que le chevalier de France estoit jà embargé, qui fut grande cause de avancer son armée, et tins la mer sur l'ancre quinze jours, où j'endurey de grans malaises avant que ledict Roy amenast madicte dame et avant que sadicte armée fut preste." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Item pendant le temps que je estoye à la mer sur l'ancre, vint une nef de France, laquelle me apporta des vitailles, et par dedans y avoit ung mullet bien gent, lequel j'avoye faict venir par le conseil de monsieur Sr. de Vandosme, qui le me conseilla quant il me mist à la mer, car il avoit veu le mulet à la Rochelle, et pour le donner audict Roy d'Escoce, lequel mullet je luy feys presenter, et en fut moult joyeulx, et fut chose bien estrange de pardelà, qui prouve qu'il n'en y a nulz. Et aussi feis presenter à ladicte Royne d'Escoce trois pipes plaines de fruict, tant grosses chastaignes, poyres que pommes de diverses manieres, et aussi six pipes de vin, de quoy la Royne fut bien contente, car par delà il y a bien peu de fruict." (*Girard.*)

hardly be questioned, consisted of eleven ships, though other chroniclers, and amongst them one who was a member of the Scottish retinue, raise the number to thirty six sail, of which twenty-seven were French, whilst the other nine, described as "three notable 'hulches'" and six "tried barges", had been added by James. The royal inspection included a trial sail. Its object was to determine which of the ships was best suited to take the place of the swift galley which had been specially asked for, but which the King of France had been unable to procure. The result established the superiority of a new Spanish-built craft, of which a Frenchman, Pierre Chepye, was the master. Such was the speed of this mediæval clipper that it is described as scudding along as if in winged flight—"quasi pennigero volatu"—and as outstripping its competitors with such ease that they could not keep it in sight for as long as half a day.[1]

The King gave orders that this fast-sailing boat should be reserved for the use of the Princess, but that Girard's whaler, with Joachim on board as captain, should keep close to it all through the

[1] "Et ledict Roy d'Escoce estant audict lieu de Dompbertrain ung jour vint veoir le navire et le fait assayer et faire voyle pour savoir lequel estoit le plus viste et prouffitable pour mettre madicte dame. Et la fut par ledict Sr appointé que madicte dame prendroit son passage en la nef de Perre Chepye qui estoit toute neufve et bonne de voyle et estoit du royaulme d'Hespaigne et que le baleiner dessus nommé seroit tousiours près de ladicte nef pour ayder et saulver madicte dame au cas de besoing, duquel baleiner ledict Joachim Girart fut ordonné capitaine." (*Girard.*, "*Quarum [navium] unam præfuit Petrus Perspey, Gallus, quae tam pernici gradu et quasi pennigero volatu currere videbatur, quod omnes et singulas navis secum vehicantes infra dimidii diei cursum amittere putaretur.*" (*Fordun a Goodall*, vol. ii, cap. xii.)

voyage, so as to be at hand to afford help in case of need. This decision gave great umbrage to the other masters. After having discussed the matter amongst themselves they proceeded in a body to Girard, and represented to him that there was only one Spanish ship in the whole fleet, that all the others were either from France or from Brittany, and that it would be an intolerable slight on the masters to give the preference to Pierre Chepye's boat. They declared that nothing would induce them to put up with such an affront, and they threatened, in spite of any order the King might give, that they would attack Chepye when they got out into the open sea, and would forcibly deprive him of the honour of carrying their mistress the Dauphiness. Girard was greatly perturbed by this demonstration, and was at a loss how to conciliate the malcontents; for, as he remarks, "seafaring folk are marvellous to deal with and there is but little reason amongst them". He succeeded in appeasing them, however, by giving them a promise which he probably meant to ignore, and which there is no record of his having kept. He told them that, as soon as the squadron was in the open, out of sight of the Scottish coast, he would have the Dauphiness transferred to the whaler, so that the honour of bringing her home should remain with the French.[1]

[1] "Item après que ledict Roy s'en fut allé, les maistres des nefz ne furent pas contens de l'ordonnance que ledict Roy avoit faicte, et en sortit grand question entre eulx; lesquelz vindrent pardevers moy, disans que en toute la flote n'avoit que une nef d'Espaigne et que le surplus estoit de France et de Bretaigne, et que ce seroit deshonneur à tous les maistres dudict navire de

On the 27th of March, 1436, after a tearful leave-taking, which the King's overmastering emotion obliged him to bring to an abrupt close,[1] Margaret left her native land. The convoying fleet was under command of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Admiral of Scotland. He was accompanied by John Crannock, Bishop of Brechin. Amongst those that sailed with them there were representatives of some of the most distinguished families in the country. They were Sir Walter Ogilvy, Treasurer to the King; Sir Herbert Herries; Sir John Maxwell of Calderwood; Sir John Campbell of Loudon; Sir Thomas Colville; Sir John Wishart; Sir Andrew Gray of Foulis; Sir James Stuart; the laird of Graham; Henry Wardlaw of Torry; Alexander Seton, Master of Gordon and subsequently Marquis of Huntly; William Carlisle; John Ramsay; Robert Cunningham; David Kennedy; David Ogilvy; and two clerics, Master John Stuart, Provost of Methven; and Master Maurice Buchanan. In addition to these, there were, as attendants on the Princess, a hundred and forty well-born and chosen youths, all clothed alike in handsome livery. And

souffrir que madicte dame la Daulphine fut menée en la nef de Pere Chepie, et que pour riens ne le souffreroient et qu'ilz le combatroient à la mer, quelque ordonnance que le Roy eust faicte et que ledict Pere Chepie n'auroit point l'honneur de mener leur maistresse madame leur Daulphine. Et fuz fort pressé de repaiser le debat desdictz maistres, car gens de mer sont de merveilleux afaire et y a peu de raison. Et pour les repaiser je leur diz que incontinent que serions hors de la coste d'Escosse je mettroye madicte dame audict balenier. Et ainsi le navire de France auroit l'honneur de l'avoir amennée, et par ce moien les repaisay." (*Girard.*)

[1] "Le Roy n'y demeura pas longuement, mais s'en alla à grans pleurs du regret de madicte dame la Daulphine sa fille." (*Girard.*)

according to the *Book of Pluscarden*—a chronicle of which the authorship is ascribed to this Maurice Buchanan, who had been appointed by James to act as his daughter's treasurer—the party, "for fear of the English", was escorted by "three thousand well ordered and well appointed men-at-arms". But this is far above Girard's estimate, which puts the number at no higher than from a thousand to twelve hundred.[1] They were under the command of Hugh Kennedy, who was on board the *St. Giles*. In accordance with the King's wishes, Girard and Martineau, together with the Earl of Orkney, the Bishop of Brechin, and Sir Walter Ogilvy, sailed with the Princess in Pierre Chepye's ship.

[1] "Et estions en nombre unze vaisseaulx d'armée dont il y avoit de grosses nefz, et y pouvoit bien avoir de gens en tout jusques au nombre de mil à XII^{C} hommes dudict royaulme d'Escoce bien choisiz et bien en point, sans les gens de mer du party de France." (*Girard*; cf. *The Book of Pluscarden*, book xi, chap. iv.)

VI

The Progress to Tours

The fair wind that had allowed the Scottish Princess and the convoying squadron to sail from Dumbarton lasted but a night and a day, after which it veered round and compelled the ships to seek the shelter of a harbour on the west coast. Girard reports that when they put to sea again, they were favoured with splendid weather for the remainder of a fine passage. He makes no reference to the fortunate chance to which, according to the accounts given by some Scottish chroniclers, the convoy owed its escape from the English ships that had been sent out to intercept it and to kidnap the Princess, and which one writer, with obvious exaggeration, sets down at a hundred and eighty. Whilst these were lying in wait near the Race of Brittany, the dangerous passage between the extreme west point of the mainland and the island of Ushant, a Flemish fleet, homeward bound from La Rochelle, with a cargo of wine, was sighted. By reason of their recent reconciliation with the French, the Burgundians had become the enemies of the English, and might legitimately be attacked by them. Tempted by the prospect of a rich booty these forsook the duty assigned

to them and set full sail in pursuit of the trading vessels, which, being heavily laden and unarmed, were soon overtaken and easily captured. But swift retribution awaited the raiders. Next day, before they had had time to take their prizes into port, they were themselves attacked by a Spanish squadron, which recaptured the Flemings and sent them safe home.[1]

Thanks to the diversion so opportunely effected, the English ships were prevented from carrying out the deliberate act of treachery which, in view of the unexpired truce proclaimed in 1431, an attack on the Scottish Princess and her convoy would have constituted; and the squadron was able to proceed unmolested on its way. On the 17th of April, after a voyage which, though performed in fair weather and described as prosperous, had taken no less than three weeks, it reached the roadstead of La Pallice, not off the île de Ré, as has persistently been stated, but off the mainland, some three miles to the west of La Rochelle. On the morrow it went to Chef-de-Baie, the north-western point of the bight at the head of which La Rochelle is situated. It

[1] "Contra quam (Delphinissam), et ob quam capessendam, anglici centum et octoginta naves mari commiserunt, et coram Rase de la Bretaign, apud Sanctum Matthaeum de Tradis, adventum ejus exspectaverunt: juxta quos subito appropiavit classis Flemingorum, deferens de Rochel vinum Flandriae subvehendum; quam sine reluctatione Anglici cœperunt; sed inde parvum gaudium reportaverunt; quia in crastino inopinatè classis Hispaniae Flemingos et eorum naves recuperantes Anglos inanes dimiserunt. Interim et dum haec agerentur, feliciter Delphinissa evasit, et portum de Rochel applicuit, et apud Prioratum de Nevile distantem a Rochel per duas leucas, quasi impercepta pervenit." (*Fordun a Goodall*, vol. ii, chap. xii.)

was intended that the Dauphiness should remain there until the following day, so as to give the loyal inhabitants of La Rochelle time to decorate their town for her reception. A sudden storm, however, upset these arrangements. The ship that bore the Lady Margaret was hastily run into the harbour of La Rochelle for safety, whilst the vessels that had convoyed her were driven aground, and lay in the mud off one of the towers to which the boom that barred the entrance to the port was attached. One of them suffered considerable damage.

Though prolonged far beyond the time originally deemed sufficient for the double journey to Scotland and back, the expedition had nevertheless come to a successful issue; and Pymor might justifiably congratulate himself on the accomplishment of a difficult undertaking. In terms of his contract he should have received within one month after his return to France the balance due to him. The finances of the kingdom were still in so precarious a condition that three months elapsed before the King took the first step towards a settlement of the debt. On the 16th of July, he issued an order to the Bishop of Laon, his treasurer for the province of Languedoc, to pay the naval contractor an instalment of 1500 livres, representing half the amount to which he still had a claim, and including 300 reals which were allowed him as compensation for the additional expenses entailed upon him by his enforced stay of six months in Scotland, and the payment of which by Charles seems to imply a repudiation on the part of the

King of Scots of an obligation which he had formally accepted.[1]

After the landing of the Princess Margaret, the men that composed her military escort were brought ashore and billeted in Lalen and other villages on the outskirts of La Rochelle. The entry of the Dauphiness into the town was postponed until such time as she should have recovered from the fatigue of her long sea voyage and its final storm; and early in the morning, on the day following her arrival, she was taken to the Priory of Nieul-sur-Mer, a league to the north of La Rochelle. There she was waited upon by the Archbishop of Reims, Chancellor of France; by Monsieur de Graville, Master of the Crossbowmen; by Master Jehan Chasteigner,

[1] The order for this payment puts the contractor's name beyond doubt: "Nous voulons et vous mandons que par nostre amé et feal tresorier et receveur general de nosdictes finances Macé Héron vous, des deniers de sa recepte faites paier et delivrer à nostre amé sergent d'armes Jehan du Preel dit Pymor, escuier, maistre de navire la somme de quinze cens livres tournois pour la moitié de la somme de IIIM l. t. en quoy nous luy sommes tenuz tant pour le reste de la somme de XM royaulx d'or à quoy avoit esté jà pieça appoinctié de nostre part et fait marchié avecques luy pour fournir de certein navire qu'il a mené au royaume d'Escoce afin d'en ramener dedans le nostre, nostre treschiere et tresamée fille la daulphine, comme aussi pour la somme de IIIC royaulx d'or que nous lui avons ordonnée et donnée pour consideracion de plusieurs dommaiges et interestz qu'il avoit euz et soustenuz à cause de ce qu'il avoit seiourné audit royaume d'Escoce par l'espace de six moys plus qu'il ne devoit et n'estoit tenu. . . . Donné à Tours soulz nostre seel ordinaire en l'absence du grant, le XVIme jour de juillet, l'an de grace mil CCCC trente et six." (*Bibliothèque nationale. Pièces originales*, vol. 2734, dossier Preel, piece 2.) In the case of the lawyer, Aimery Martineau, the delay in settling his claim was far greater. It was not till 1451 that he received 200 l. of the 600 l. due to him for the expenses of his journey, and two years more elapsed before the remaining 400 l. were paid him: "Me Emery Martineau, IIC l. sur VIC l. à cause de son voyage fait par ordonnance du roy en 1436 au royaume d'Escoce querir feue Madame la Daulphine de Viennois". (MS. 685, f. 140.) The balance was paid in 1453 (f. 166 vo).

Treasurer of La Rochelle; and by one of the stewards of the royal household, le Galois du Puy-de-Fou. They came to pay their respects to her, and to welcome her in the King's name. From that moment she was treated as his guest, and all her expenses as well as those of her retinue were defrayed by the royal Treasury.

The state entry into La Rochelle took place on the 5th of May. The houses were hung with tapestries and elaborately decorated. The Mayor with all the municipal dignitaries went out in procession to meet the Dauphiness. She was accompanied by the courtiers whom the King had appointed to represent him, and by many barons and lords of the surrounding country, who had come to join the cavalcade. Her own Scottish retinue produced a great impression on the crowds of sightseers that had flocked out to see the gorgeous spectacle, and thronged the highway and the streets. The contemporary French chronicler, Perceval de Cagny, testifies in glowing language to the imposing appearance of the richly-apparelled knights and squires, noble dames and damsels of her own country, by whom she was attended. It was, he says, a splendid sight to see the hackneys with their trappings, the litter, the chariots and the horses by which they were drawn, all sumptuously adorned and bedecked in a way that would have befitted the train of the Queen of France.[1]

[1] "Et estoit belle chose de veoir les hacquenées, leurs hernais, la litière, les cherioz et chevaulx pour les mener, richement parez et couvers, comme à la raigne de France pourroit apartenir." (*Perceval de Cagny*, p. 220.)

The Dauphiness entered the town through the New Gate, and by way of the Square and the High Street, proceeded to the Grey Friars, in whose house she was to reside during her stay. Before passing into it she was met and welcomed by a deputation composed of noble ladies and of the wives of the leading citizens, all arrayed in rich attire according to their several stations. Later in the day, after she had dined, she was waited upon by the magistrates, who, in the name of the inhabitants, begged her acceptance of a handsome service of silver plate. In acknowledging the gift she expressed her special appreciation of it as the first tribute of homage and loyalty offered her in her new country.[1]

Following closely on this cordial reception, there occurred an incident that marred the harmony of the intercourse between the two nationalities and caused a grievous disappointment to many of those that had come from Scotland with their Princess. It had been decided by the King's Council that only a limited number should be allowed to proceed further; and the Earl of Orkney and the Comte de Vendôme had to perform the invidious task of selecting those that should have the privilege of accompanying their young Princess to the French Court. In vain did the less fortunate protest against the summary dismissal and offer to bear the costs of the journey themselves. They had to

[1] "Et celluy jour après disner, ceulx de ladicte ville luy feirent ung beau present de vaisselle d'argent, dont elle fut bien contente, pource que ce fut le premier présent à elle faict en ce royaulme." (*Girard.*)

comply with the churlish order, and returned to their own country very ill content.[1]

On Monday, the 9th of May, the Dauphiness left La Rochelle for Poitiers. She travelled by way of Mauzé, Niort, Saint Maixent, and Lusignan. At Niort she was met by Mesdames de La Roche-Guyon and de Gamaches, who with a brilliant following of noble ladies had been sent by the King to accompany her on her further progress. In all the good towns through which she passed the inhabitants did their utmost to honour and to entertain her, and brought her beautiful gifts. And the fatigue of each day's journey and of the subsequent receptions must have been followed by considerable intervals of rest; for it was not till Sunday, the 22nd of the month, that Margaret reached her destination. It had taken her a fortnight to do less than a hundred miles.

At Poitiers, elaborate preparation had been made in anticipation of the youthful bride's coming; and her entry into the town was the occasion for an imposing display of mediæval pomp and pageantry. A good league beyond the gates she was met by a stately procession, which was headed by the Mayor and all the civic dignitaries. They were followed by

[1] "Eulx arrivez audit lieu de la Rochelle, fut avisé par entre eulx et ledit conte d'Escoce quel nombre et lesquelz, tant hommes que femmes, vendroient devers le roy et le sourplus retourner et envoyer en leur pais. Et fut la departie d'entreulx très forte à faire et touz les gens d'estat, hommes et femmes, chacun en droit soy, furent très mal contens du conseil du roi et desiroient touz à conduire leurdite dame et mestresse à leurs despens jusques au lieu où elle devoit demourer. Et ad ce ne pourent estre ouiz, et retournerent en leur pais mal contens." (*Perceval de Cagny*, p. 220.)

the members of the King's High Court of Justiciary. Next to these came the doctors and students of the University; and lastly, in full canonicals, the clergy of all the churches. One detail, which appears to have been a recognized feature of a royal home-coming in those days, and of which Scottish history also supplies examples, is recorded by Regnault Girard. As the Dauphiness approached the gate of the city a child, attired in the conventional garb of an angel, was lowered from the archway, and crowned her with a wreath of flowers. And this was "prettily and cunningly performed", to the delight of the loyal crowd that had gathered to acclaim the Princess.[1] Before leaving Poitiers, Margaret received a more or less spontaneous token of the loyalty of the inhabitants of Poitou, who, as she passed through the capital town of the province, presented her with a service of plate of the value of 2300 livres. The amount had been raised by a special levy ordered by the King.[2]

[1] "Item quant madicte dame approchea de ladicte ville de Poictiers, le maire et tous les notables d'icelle ville vindrent au devant de madicte dame bien une grand lieue, et toust après trouva messieurs de la court de Parlement du Roy où il y avoit plusieurs gens de grand façon et auctorité, et quant elle approchea de ladicte ville, elle trouva l'université où il y avoit plusieurs docteurs et escolliers à grand nombre, et puis trouva les colleiges des eglises en grand ordonnance et dont y avoit grand quantité, et à l'entrée de ladicte ville sailly ung enfant en figure d'ange du portal d'icelle ville, qui apporta ung chappeau sur le chef de madicte dame, qui estoit chose bien gentement et subtillement faicte. Et depuis ledict portal jusques es Jacopins où elle fut logée et receue par les dames et bourgeoyses de ladicte ville, par tous les carresfours y avoit personnaiges de diverses manieres et richement habillez et lesquelz il faisoit bon et plaisand veoir." (*Girard.*)

[2] "Je Jehan Gilier, clerc, notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre sire et par lui commis à recevoir la somme de deux mil troys cens livres tournoys ordonnée

In the meantime, from his residence at Bourges, King Charles VII had attended to the preliminary formalities. On the 3rd of June he issued a "commission" to the Dauphin to appear before the Archbishop of Tours and to contract marriage with the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of the King of Scots. On the same day another warrant was addressed to the Chancellor of the Realm, directing him to apply to the Diocesan for a dispensation in favour of Louis, who had not yet reached the canonical age of fourteen. In actual fact, having been born on the 3rd of July, 1423, he was not yet fully thirteen. The document was duly delivered ten days later. It referred to the Dauphin as having hardly attained the beginning of his fourteenth year, and to the Princess as not having yet completed her twelfth.[1] In the proceedings connected with this formal application, the Dauphin was represented by Adam of Cambrai, First President of the High

par ledit sieur estre assise et imposée au pais de Poitou oultre et avecques le principal de la porcion de l'ayde de deux cens mil livres tournoys octroyé au Roy nostre dit sieur à Poictiers au moys de fevrier derrenier passé, confesse avoir eu et receu de Pierre Parquant, receveur dudit ayde audit pais de Poitou ladite somme de deux mil troys cens livres tournoys laquelle le Roy nostredit sieur a voulu et mandé par moy est receue et baillée pour la convertir en l'achapt de certaine vaisselle d'argent pour faire present de par tout ledit pais de Poitou à monseigneur le daulphin et à madame la daulphine le jour de la feste de leurs nopces si comme par lettres patentes du Roy nostredit sieur données le cinquiesme jour de may darrenier passé au vidimus d'icelles puet plus à plain apparoir. De laquelle somme de deux mil troys cens livres tournoys je me tiens pour content et bien payé dudit Pierre Parquans, receveur, et l'en quitte et tous autres. Tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis le XX^{e} jour de juing l'an mil CCCC trente et six. J. Gilier." (*Bibliothèque nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 1324, dossier Gilier, pièce 22.)

[1] Duclos: *Histoire de Louis XI*, vol. ii, p. 26 *et seq.*

Court of Justiciary, and by Baudoin of Champagne, lord of Ruzé and Bailiff of Touraine; and Margaret by John Crannock, Bishop of Brechin, and Master John Stewart, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven.[1]

A lapse in the chronicler's memory and a corresponding blank in his manuscript leave it uncertain on what day the Dauphiness left Poitiers. But we know that she reached Tours on the Feast of St. John—that is, on the 24th of June, or Midsummer Day. It was four o'clock in the afternoon when she made her entry into the town. She was mounted on a richly caparisoned hackney, and closely followed by Madame de La Roche-Guyon, who was also on horseback. The ladies in attendance on her came next in three coaches, of which one had been retained for the exclusive use of Margaret's own countrywomen. At the town gate she was met by the lords of Gamaches and of Maillé, each of whom taking her palfrey by the bridle, the one on her right hand and the other on her left, led her through the crowded streets to the stately cathedral dedicated to Saint Gatien, the apostle of Touraine. At various points along the route to be followed by the procession bands of music had been stationed; and in the square of Notre-Dame-la-Riche, which it was to cross, the organ of the church of Saint-Martin had been set up on a covered platform to accompany a choir of young children, whose fresh young voices joined in harmonious welcome to the bride, hardly

[1] *Archives nationales*, J. 409, Nos. 58 and 59.

older than themselves, and who, in recognition of the graceful homage which they did her, were treated to a feast of bread, wine, and cherries, costing the town five sols. After performing her devotions at the shrine, and making the offering which custom demanded from high-born worshippers, Margaret again mounted her horse and proceeded to the royal residence. At its main entrance the two gentlemen-in-waiting helped her to alight, and then gave up their places to the Comte de Vendôme and the Earl of Orkney, between whom she made her way to the audience chamber, which was hung with cloth of gold and with high warp tapestries that had been borrowed for the occasion from the palace of the Duke of Orleans at Blois—a trifling circumstance which is not without interest, as affording evidence that affluence was far from having returned to the French Court.[1] And even with friendly help, no very extensive scheme of decoration had been carried out. The chronicler informs us that only four other rooms, of which the Queen's was one, had been similarly provided with hangings.

[1] "Nous Hugues Perrier et Bernart Vilot confessons avoir eu et receu de Jaques Bouchier tresorier de monseigneur le duc d'Orleans la somme de dix livres tournois que nous avions frayée et despendue du nostre tant pour avoir fait mener de Blois à Tours par l'ordonnance de monseigneur le Bastart d'Orleans et de monseigneur le Chancelier certainnes tapiceriez pour les nocez de monseigneur le Daulphin, icelle garder là avecques Jaques Colins et deux aydes et icelle ramener audit lieu de Blois, oultre ce que la Royne et monseigneur le Chancelier de France nous firent bailler pour despendre à Tours. De laquelle somme de dix livres ainsi receue par la main de Pierre Taillebois receveur ordinaire de Blois nous nous tenons pour contens et en quittons ledit tresorier et tous autres. Tesmoing noz seings manuelz cy mis. Le XXIII[e] jour d'aoust, l'an mil CCCC trentesix. H. Perrier. B. Vilot." (*Bibliothèque nationale, Pièces originales*, dossier Perrier, pièce 32.)

The Queen of France, Marie of Anjou; the Queen of Sicily, Iolanthe of Aragon; Madame Radegonde, the King's daughter; Madame de Vendôme, and many lords and ladies were already gathered together in the great hall. As Margaret appeared at the farther end of it, her future sister-in-law and Iolanthe of Aragon went forward to receive her, and, each holding her by the hand, conducted her towards the dais beneath which the Queen sat in state. Rising at her approach Marie of Anjou honoured the Princess by advancing four or five paces to meet her, and greeted the child with a motherly embrace and an affectionate kiss. Then, in his turn, the Dauphin, with his retinue of knights and esquires, entered the hall; and the girl-bride went forward to meet the boy-bridegroom. They greeted each other with a courtly embrace, after which, walking together, they advanced to the royal dais and did homage to the Queen. At the conclusion of these formal and ceremonious receptions they retired with her to her private apartments, where they were allowed to become children again, and where, in the homely language of the chronicler, Jean Chartier, "they amused themselves till supper-time".

There does not appear to have come down to us any portrait or even description from which a notion can be formed of the Dauphin's personal appearance in his early years;[1] but we know that as a man he

[1] The earliest known portrait of Louis is the sketch, admittedly only a copy, preserved in the library at Arras (MS. 266, fol. 3). It represents him at the age of about twenty. Being a half-length it does not reveal the ungainliness of

was feeble-looking and uncouth, that his legs, which the dress of the period displayed in all their ungainliness, were lank and misshapen and his gait consequently awkward and shuffling, and that, as regards his face, a hooked nose of disproportionate length and piercing, but shifty, close-set eyes, overhung by shaggy beetle-brows, imparted a sinister expression to a face that had no air of distinction to redeem it. And it is hardly conceivable that he can have been otherwise than unprepossessing as a boy.

As to the Princess Margaret, Martin Lefranc describes her poetically as

> "a pure and brilliant star
> Sent to adorn this world of ours".[1]

The author of the *Book of Pluscarden*, who, whether he were Maurice Buchanan or some other member of her Scottish household, was one who had daily intercourse with her, tells us that she had a "very lovely face".[2] Mathieu d'Escouchy, on the authority of several trustworthy people who had seen her many a time, says that she was "belle et

his person. His eyebrows are already strongly marked. His nose, which he himself described as "longuet et haut ung petit", is long and aquiline. It may be noted that in the directions which he gave concerning the portrait that was to serve as a model for the effigy to be placed over his tomb, Louis desired that even his least pleasing features should be faithfully reproduced. (Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 458.)

[1] "Se de madame la Daulphine
Veuls parler veritablement,
C'est une estoille clere et fine
Mise en ce monde à parement."
(*Bibliothèque nationale*, MS. français 12476, fol. 122 r°, col. 1.)

[2] Book xi, chap. 4.

bien formée".[1] Monstrelet tells us that she was "a handsome and good lady".[2] The author of the *Chronique Antonine* adds his testimony that she was "excellentement belle et prudente dame".[3] And finally, there is that of King Charles himself, who, as is reported by Girard, was "moult joyeux et bien content de sa personne" when he first saw her, on the morning of her wedding day, in the room where she was being dressed for the ceremony.[4]

[1] *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. i, p. 67.
[2] Thomas Johnes's Translation, vol. ii, p. 142.
[3] MS. français, 1371, f. 271.
[4] "Le Roy arriva audict chasteau de Tours . . . et alla veoir madicte dame en la chambre en laquelle on la habilloit et fut moult joyeulx et bien content de sa personne." (*Girard.*)

VII

The Child Bride's Wedding

On the 25th of June, 1436, the marriage of the Dauphin and the Scottish Princess took place in the chapel of the Castle of Tours. The bride was attired in rich robes of velvet and cloth of gold, over which there flowed a long mantle of state. A diadem of gold encircled her head. The bridegroom, who, if he had already developed that dislike for sumptuous apparel which was later one of his characteristics, must have felt and looked ill at ease in his wedding garments, wore a suit of bluish-grey velvet, elaborately embroidered with leaves of gold. He had girded on the sword which the King of Scots had sent him as a wedding present. The grip was covered with white leather, and the pommel was adorned on the one side with a figure of Our Lady, and on the other with a representation of the warlike Archangel St. Michael. It was an historic weapon. More than fifty years later it was preserved in the armoury of the Castle of Amboise, and described in an inventory drawn up in 1489 as "l'espée du roy d'Escosse qui fust fort hardy". And there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt that

"the King of Scotland who was very brave" was no other than Robert Bruce.[1]

The Queen of France was clad in a gown of blue velvet, adorned with beautiful and costly orfray work. It was only at the last moment that King Charles made his appearance. He had ridden in from Amboise, a distance of about fifteen miles, and had not left himself time to change his travel-stained dress. Booted and spurred, and in a plain grey suit, he must have seemed singularly out of place amongst the French and Scottish courtiers, by whom an effort had evidently been made to impart to the ceremony all the brilliancy that circumstances permitted.[2] The only Princes of the Blood present were Monseigneur Charles d'Anjou and the Comte de Vendôme; and the absence of the others must have been looked upon as singular and remarkable, for the chronicler, Perceval de Cagny, makes special mention of it.[3]

The nuptial benediction was given by Regnault de Chartres, who was thus afforded the satisfaction of bringing to a successful issue the matrimonial alliance for which he had initiated negotiations more

[1] "Une espée, la poignée de fouet blanc, au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé et St. Michel de l'autre nommée l'espée du roy d'Escosse qui fust fort hardy, laquelle fut donnée au feu Roy Loys quant il espousa madame la dauphine." (Inventaire de vieilles armes conservées au château d'Amboise, 23 septembre, 1499. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. vi.)

[2] "Le lundi, XXV jour dudit mois, et jour de Saint Eloy, fut épousé monseigneur le dauphin en ladite église, en la presence du roy, qui ce jour vint d'Amboise et fut à l'espouser vestu d'une robe grise, housé et esperonné." (*Perceval de Cagny*, p. 221.)

[3] "Et audit jour n'avoit de messeigneurs de France, sinon monseigneur Charles d'Anjou et le conte de Vendosme." (*Ibid.*)

than eight years earlier. After the pontifical high mass, at which he officiated, there was a banquet too sumptuous for Jean Chartier to attempt any description of it other than is contained in the general statement, that there was a profusion of everything that could be thought of in the way both of courses and of side-dishes.[1] Both he and Regnault Girard record the order in which the royal hosts and the wedding guests were seated; and their accounts, which, except for the omission of the Scottish Earl by Chartier, are in agreement with each other, throw an interesting light both on the etiquette and on the somewhat primitive arrangement of a state banquet at that period.

The head of the first table was occupied, not by the King, but by the Archbishop of Reims, and opposite to him, at the other end, a chair had been provided for the Earl of Orkney as the representative of the King of Scots. Charles himself was content to take his place next to the Archbishop, but on a bench that ran along one side of the table. The bride sat beside him, separated by the Queen of Sicily from the Queen, to whom the fifth place had been assigned. Madame de Vendôme was the last of the row, "au bout du banc en la dicte table". The Dauphin presided at the second and lesser table, and entertained "the surplus of the lords of Scotland."[2] The municipality of Tours does not appear

[1] "Du service ne doit-on pas faire question, car viandes possibles à trouver y avoit largement et des entremetz." (*Jean Chartier*, vol. i, p. 232.)

[2] "Grant fut la feste [a blank of about a third of a line, in the MS.] de la

to have had at its disposal sufficient table linen for the banquet. It issued an order to the Guild of God and the Apostles to supply the deficiency. Some of the articles included in this compulsory loan were lost, and others greatly spoilt. In compensation of the damage done, and in payment of the expense incurred by the carriage, washing, folding, and ordering of the linen, the Guild claimed and received ten livres from Pierre Blondelet, the City Treasurer.

Music was provided, not only by minstrels, but also by instrumentalists with their trumpets, clarions, lutes, and psalteries. And the conjecture that the entertainment was enlivened by the strains of a Scottish bagpipe has been made on the authority of a fifteenth-century miniature.[1] The omission of the tournament, which in those days was looked upon as an almost essential feature of such wedding festivities, may be taken as a further proof that the necessity for economy still made itself felt at the French Court.[2] But if the French and Scottish knights were not afforded the opportunity of displaying their prowess in the lists, the good people

grande table, le prelat mondit S^r de Rains, le Roy, madame la Daulphine, la Royne de Cecille, la Royne de France, et au bout du banc en ladicte table, madame de Vandosme et en une cheyre au bout de ladicte table, le conte d'Orquenay. Mondict S^r le Daulphin tint la petite table et festoya le seurplus des seigneurs d'Escoce." (*Girard.*) See also note, p. 101.

[1] "Trompettes, clairons, menestrels, luth et psalterions." (*Jean Chartier*, ut supra—Francisque Michel: *Les Ecossais en France*, vol. i, p. 185.)

[2] "Et fut la feste grande et plaine comme le cas le requeroit bien, sans y avoir joustes ne faire autres grans choses etranges." (*Perceval de Cagny*, p. 222.)

of Touraine were not deprived of their share of the amusements.[1] The notice given to the municipal

[1] The municipal accounts supply interesting details as to the manner in which the Scottish Princess was received by the town of Tours, and also as to the festivities that were held in honour of her wedding on the following day.

"Payé audit Pierre Blondelet receveur dessus dit la somme de treize livres un solz huit deniers tournois pour certaine despence par lui faite à la venue de madame la Daulphine en ladite ville. De laquelle despence les parties s'ensuivent. Premierement:

"A Robin Lebarbier, envoyé à Chinon et Lodun pour essaier à trouver des habillemens à jouer des parsonnaiges à la joyeuse venue de madite Dame la Daulphine pour despence et louaige de son cheval et de lui—XXXV s.

"A Richart Gaugain pour quatre vielz draps de lit à faire troiz abiz pour ceulx qui danserent la morisque devant madite dame—XV s.

"A Jehan Avisart, costurier, pour avoir taillé, couzu et fait lesditz habiz—XV s.

"A Denis le Vitrier, paintre, pour avoir hastivement et richement peint lesditz habiz et quatre barbes pour lesdits danceurs—LX s.

"A Gervaise Lechanteurs pour XXVII Dnes (douzaines) de sonnetes baillées auxditz danceurs et au taborin—XXX s.

"A lui pour louaige de partie desdites sonnetes qui lui furent rendus—V s.

"A André Hacqueteau, cellier, pour avoir couzu en cuir lesdites sonnetes pour les mectre es mains et jambes desditz danseurs—VII s. VI d.

"A deux femmes qui avoient cuilli des fleurs pour faire des chappeaux ausditz compaignons—II s. VI d.

"Pour la despence desdiz compaignons à desjeuner disner (sic) après qu'ilz eurent dançé—XXX s.

"A Pierre Rossigneul et ses compaignons menestriés qui cornèrent au carroë aux chappeaux à la venue de madite dame la Daulphine—X s.

"A quatre compaignons qui firent un chaffaut sur le pont leveys du boulvert de la Riche, où furent les orgues et plusieurs compaignons de l'eglise de Tours, et pour cerises, pain et vin pour eulx—X s.

"Pour cordaige pour ledit chaffaut à tenir les couvertures d'icelui—III s. IIII d.

"Pour quatre compaignons qui apportèrent et repportèrent lesdites orgues—III s. IIII d.

"A Me Robert le Deable, l'un desditz danseurs, pour sa paine et pour avoir ordonné ladite dance, les abiz et paintures d'iceulx et pour une paire de chausses qu'il disoit avoir cassées à ladite dance—XXX s.

"Pour pain, vin et cerises qui furent données au maistre et petiz enfans de Monseigneur Saint Martin qui à ladite venue chantèrent sur le portal de la Riche—V s.

"Pour ce paié lesdites parties par mandement donné le VII jour de juillet l'an mil CCCC XXX et six; pour ce—XIII l. I s. VIII d.

authorities had been too short to allow of the staging of any of those mediæval mysteries that were the delight of the populace. As a substitute for one of those primitive and crude dramatic representations, they provided an entertainment that was hardly less appreciated by the crowd, a performance by Morris-dancers. Nor was it without some trouble and expense that the show was produced. In the first place, it cost thirty-five sols to despatch Robin Lebarbier to Chinon and to Lodun, where he was to try and procure costumes for the performers. He does not appear to have been very successful in his quest, for Richard Gaugain had to supply four old bed sheets, for which he was paid fifteen sols, and out of which Jehan Avisart, the tailor, cut and put together three costumes, his charge for doing which was also fifteen sols. Then Denis le Vitrier, the painter, took the garments in hand and ornamented them "richly". Though hastily performed, his work must have been considered satisfactory, and possibly, even artistic, for it was remunerated at the comparatively high rate of forty sols. It is true, however, that

"A Thomas Pater, l'un des procureurs de la confrairie de Dieu et des Apostres, la somme de dix livres tournois pour desdommagement du linge de ladite fraerie, dont partie a esté perdu, et lequel linge par ordonnance des habitans de la ville feut prins pour servir aux nopces de Monseigneur le Daulphin où il a esté fort gasté et endomaigé, et pour la paine de l'avoir porté, raporté, blanchi, ployé et ordonné ainsi que mestier estoit; pour ce, par mandement desditz Esleuz et quittance dudit Thomas, donné le VII[e] jour de julliet l'an mil CCCC XXXVI; pour ce—X l." (*Congrès scientifique de France. Quinzième session*, vol. i, p. 123.)

for this sum he also had to provide four beards, one for each of the dancers and one for the taborer whose drumming helped them to keep time in their antics. The costumes of these four men were hung with twenty-seven dozen little bells, and they themselves wore wreaths of fresh flowers, which two women had been paid 2*s.* 6*d.* for gathering. The "ordering" of the dance, as well as the designing of the costumes and of their ornamentation, was in the hands of Maître Robert le Diable, whose name, whether real or assumed, was not inappropriate, and who, in the jingling performance which he had devised, played his part with such conscientious vigour that he split, or, as the account cautiously puts it, "said he split", his hose, the cost of mending which was included in the thirty sols he received "for his pains".

The town accounts also throw an interesting light on the arrangements that were made for the purpose of providing suitable presents for the bride and bridegroom on their wedding-day. We learn from them that, as early as the 27th of May, Master Martin Desargouges and Master Jehan Ruzé were sent, the one to Chinon and the other to Loches, with letters which were respectively addressed to the "Elect", or Councillors, of those two towns, and which proposed a mutual understanding "as to the manner of present it was expedient to make to Mylord the Dauphin and Mylady the Dauphiness". Tours suggested a collective gift from the three municipalities, as representing the province of Touraine. For some unexplained reason, the idea did not appeal

to the inhabitants of Loches, and they stood aside. Those of Chinon, on the other hand, at once gave their acquiescence to the scheme, and, with generous loyalty, declared themselves willing to contribute their share towards a wedding present, in the making of which they did not think it excessive that as many as fifty marks of silver should be used. For further discussion of the subject, one of their "Elect", Guillaume Papuiseau, accompanied Martin Desargouges back to Tours.[1] In accordance with the agreement finally entered upon by the representatives of the two towns, Jehan Bernart, the leading goldsmith in Tours, received an order for a service of plate. It cost £571, 6*s.* 8*d.*, of which £335, 13*s.* 2*d.*, equivalent to twenty-three-and-a-half fortieths of the whole sum, were paid by the burgesses and inhabitants of Tours, whilst the remaining sixteen-and-a-half fortieths, amounting to £235, 13*s.* 6*d.*, were contributed by the town of Chinon.[2] In addition to this, the clergy, burgesses, and inhabitants of Tours presented, on their own behalf, two silver

[1] Marcel Thibaut: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, pp. 135–6.

[2] "A Jehan Bernart dit Fondeur, orfevre, la somme de CCC XXXV l. XIII s. II d.t., à lui deue par les bourgeois et habitans de ladicte ville de Tours, pour leur partie et porcion de la somme de VᶜLXXI l. VI s. VIII d.t. que se monte la vaesselle donnée par les habitans de Tours et de Chinon ensemble à Monseigneur le Daulphin et à Madame la Daulphine le jour de leurs nopces à Tours, dont lesdiz habitans de Tours estoient tenu paier de XL, XXIII et demy et ceux de Chinon XVI et demy, par appointement pris entre eulx, qui est pour ceste dicte ville ladicte somme de CCC XXXV l. XIII s. II d.t., et pour Chinon CC XXXV l. XIII s. VI d.t. comme tout ce appert bien à plain par les parties ou mandemens desdiz esleuz attaché au consentement donné sur ce fait, donné le Xᵉ jour de juillet l'an mil CCCC XXXVI et quictance cy rendue. Pour ce —CCC XXV l. XIII s. II d.t." (*Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, vol. xx, p. 255.)

gilt vases which had been "lent" them by Monseigneur de Tucé, bailiff of Touraine, and which they replaced by two vessels of their own, after Jehan Bernart had added to them eight marks, otherwise sixty-four ounces, of silver to bring them up to the right weight and value of those with which the bailiff accommodated the town, and had regilded them.[1]

At the conclusion of the wedding festivities, the Dauphin was taken away to accompany his father on the political progress and military expeditions still rendered necessary by the state of the kingdom. The Dauphiness remained at Court to continue her education under the care of Queen Mary of Anjou. About a fortnight later, the Earl of Orkney and almost all the Scots who had come to France with Margaret, and had been allowed to remain with her after her landing at La Rochelle, were sent back to their own country. Girard states that the King bestowed "beautiful gifts to the lords of Scotland" before their departure; and a Scottish chronicler says that "they were made glad with various presents". But, on the other hand, Percevel de Cagny dis-

[1] "A Jehan Bernart dit Fondeur, orfevre, la somme de XXIV l.t. à lui deue pour Monseigneur de Tucé, bailli de Touraine, pour la façon et doureure de huit mars d'argent, mis de croissance en deux pots d'argent dorez, reffaiz pour mondit seigneur le bailli, pour deux autres qu'il avoit prestez à ladicte ville et lesquelx furent donnez à Monseigneur le Daulphin et à Madame la Daulphine à leurs nopces; ladicte somme de XXIV l. donnée pour ladicte cause à mondit seigneur le bailli, comme appert au consentement des gens d'eglise, bourgeois et habitans de Tours, attaché au mandement desdiz esleuz donné le derrenier jour d'Octobre l'an mil CCCC XXXVI, cy rendu avec la quictance dudict Bernart. Pour ce—XXIV l." (*Ibid.*)

tinctly declares that they departed ill-pleased with the King's Council, which had made mean arrangements for their return—"petitement ordonné de leur retour".[1] Of the imposing retinue that King James had provided for his daughter, there were allowed to remain with her only a nobleman and his wife, who are not recognizable under the corrupted name of Othart which Girard gives them; Isabel Abernethy, Jane Wemyss, and a few others. Regnault himself was appointed by the King chief steward of the Dauphiness's household, and his son Joachim was installed as her equerry.[2]

In his detailed account of the negotiations with which he had been entrusted, and which he had brought to a successful issue, Regnault Girard makes no reference to the cession of Saintonge. The original treaties of Perth and of Chinon having been allowed to lapse, no effect had been given to the

[1] "Item la dicte feste passée, le Roy envoya de beaux dons esdictz S^rs^ d'Escoce." (*Girard.*)—"Nuptiis sic rite celebratis, Scoti variis muneribus contentati, exceptis paucis cum Delphinissa remanentibus, prospere ad propria pervenerunt." (*Fordun a Goodall*, vol. ii, cap. 12.)—"Et, environ XV jours après, ledit conte de Orquenay et presque tout le sourplus des chevaliers et escuiers qui estoient demourez après ladite descente de la Rochelle avecques madame la Daulphine furent renvoyez en leur pais et retournèrent mal contens du conseil qui avoit petitement ordonné de leur retour." (*Perceval de Cagny*, p. 222.)

[2] "Puis (les seigneurs d'Ecosse) prisrent leur congé et s'en retournerent en leur pais et emmenerent quant et eulx les dames et damoyselles qui estoient venuez dudict royaulme d'Escoce pour acompaigner madicte dame la Daulphine, fors et excepté messires Jehan Othart et madame sa femme, Ysabeau Dabrenate, Jehanne de Vynsmes, et aultres qui demourerent bien longuement à servir madicte dame, et emprès ce ordonna le Roy que je Regnault Girart me tinse avec madicte dame la Daulphine, et me donna l'office de son premier maistre d'hostel, et à mon filz Joachin donna l'office d'estre son escuyer d'escuyerie." (*Girard.*)

Charter by which King Charles had bestowed that county on the King of Scots, or to the subsequent deed in which he promised to sanction its exchange for the Duchy of Bourges or the County of Evreux, when, with the help of James, he should have regained possession of his kingdom. But, though it is not directly stated that James had instructed his representatives to put forward the claim which those documents gave him, there is evidence to show that the King of France and his Council did not assume as a foregone conclusion that he would abandon it without protest. It is to be found in a memorandum containing suggestions as to the line of argument that might reasonably be taken in the event of his attempting to urge it.[1] He was to be assured, in

[1] "L'an mil IIIIᶜXXVIII ou environ, Tresreverend père en Dieu Regnault de Chartres, arcevesque de Rains, chancellier de France, fut de par le Roy envoyé en ambassade devers le Roy d'Escoce pour le traicté de mariage de treshault et tresexcellent prince mon tresredoubté seigneur Loys, filz ainé de France, daulphin de Viennoys, avecques treshaulte et tresexcellente princesse Margarite, fille ainée du Roy d'Escoce. Et entre aultres choses fut par ledict chancellier traicté et appoincté avecques ledict Roy d'Escoce qu'il envoyroit au Roy six mil combatans des gens de son royaulme, et le Roy lui devoit envoier navire, certaine somme d'argent et partie des vitailles à ce nécessaires. Et fut dict par ledict traicté que en ce faisant le Roy doneroit audict Roy d'Escoce son frere la conté de Xanctonge, en ce don non compris sa ville de la Rochelle. Et pour ce soit adverty que si au temps advenir ledict Roy d'Escoce ou ses successeurs demandoient ladicte conté de Xanctonge lon leur peult respondre raisonnablement que quant le Roy envoyera querir lesdictz six mil combatans promis de la partie dudict Roy d'Escoce, que lors le Roy tiendra les appoinctemens faictz par sondict chancellier. Et s'ilz vouloient dire que pour la venue de madame la daulphine ilz avoient baillé lesdictz six mil combatans ou partie d'iceulx pour la conduire et amener et que par ainsi devroient avoir ladicte conté, lon leur peult replicquer que pour la venue de madicte dame la daulphine ledict Roy d'Escoce feit nouveau traicté et appoinctement avec messire Regnault Girard et ses compaignons, par lequel il devoit bailler deux mil combatans paiez et contentez à ses despens pour la seurté et conduicte de

the first place, that if ever the King of France sent for the six thousand combatants whom the original agreement placed at his disposal, and in consideration of whose services the cession had been promised, he would, in return, be ready to make over the County to his ally. Should the King of Scots press his claim further, on the ground that he had sent the troops, or at least a part of them, as an escort for his daughter, he was to be told that this was the outcome of an entirely new treaty which he had made with Regnault Girard, and of which he had only partially fulfilled the conditions, having provided some twelve hundred fighting-men, at most, instead of the two thousand who were to accompany the Dauphiness. And he was also to be reminded that the greater number of those men had been sent back to Scotland as soon as the Princess had landed at La Rochelle, and that the few who remained behind for the marriage had returned home with the Earl of Orkney soon after its celebration.

Whether acting of his own accord, or, as is more probable, recognizing the justice of the French contention, James appears to have forgone his claim. But

ladicte dame, dont il ne bailla que douze cens ou environ, et incontinant ladicte dame venue à la Rochelle s'en retournerent une partie, et tost après le mariage solemnisé le conte d'Orquenay, chef de l'armée, et tous ceulx qu'il avoit amenné s'en allarent audict pays d'Escoce. Et ainsi le traicté faict entre le Roy d'Escoce et ledict chancellier demeure entier et n'y fut en riens touché. Si n'auroit cause le Roy d'Escoce de demander ladicte conté si non que le Roy demandast lesditz VI[M] combatans, et par le traicté fait avecques ledict Roy d'Escoce par ledict messire Regnault Girart et sesdictz compaignons, lequel est en ung roole signé de la main d'icelluy Roy, et aussi par cestuy present proces verbal, peult on veoir à plain le demenne de ceste matiere." (*Girard.*)

the promise which Charles had made was not forgotten in Scotland. He was reminded of it in 1459, under James II; but the representations made to him led to no result.[1] In 1473 "the lords, prelates, barons, and commissioners of burghs", in an advisement which they submitted to James III, urged him to send an embassy to Louis XI, "to consider and understand the mind and disposition of the King of France" as to putting his ally "in possession of his counte of Xanctone after the forme of his Charter of his most noble progenitor".[2] In the absence of any records relating to such a mission it may be doubted that the King acted up to the advice of his Parliament. If he did so, his efforts were as fruitless as those of his predecessor had been. Again, in 1516, the County was claimed, this time on behalf of James V, but Francis I found means to evade the demand by declaring that he had never heard of any such concession, and by alleging that, in any case, Saintonge was an inalienable portion of the royal domain.[3] And finally, we owe our knowledge of the terms of the original Charter granted by Charles VII to a "transumpt", or certified copy of

[1] Tytler: *History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 178; Pinkerton: *History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 242.

[2] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 104.

[3] "Quoad Comitatum Xantoniensem, quem pariter petebat idem Episcopus Rosiensis Legatus, tanquam Antecessoribus inclyti Regis Scotiæ concessum per ejusdem Christianissimi Regis progenitores, Responsum est ex parte Regis Christianissimi, qui tunc Lugduni erat, nihil de concessione hujusmodi unquam audivisse, ac istud non posse leviter et absque maturo consilio expediri, cum Comitatus ille de patrimonio coronæ Franciæ semper fuerit. Quare tam de jure communi, quam etiam per illius regni constitutiones, idem Rex Christianissimus, secundum jusjurandum per eum in sua coronatione præstitum, non

it that was made in 1430, with a view to the negotiations which were begun about that time, and which had for their object the marriage of James V with the Princess Madeleine, the eldest daughter of Francis.[1] But, though the claim to it was thus maintained for over a hundred years, the coveted province was never conveyed to a Scottish sovereign.

In the spring of 1437 there occurred an incident to which we owe a glimpse of Margaret in the early days of her life as Dauphiness of France. About the month of April, the town of Tours, where she still held residence with the Queen, was terrified by news of the approach of Rodrigo de Villandrando, the leader of one of those free companies that took service as mercenaries when there was fighting to be done, and carried on an organized system of pillage and rapine when they lacked employment. In the absence of Charles and his son, the inhabitants of the panic-stricken city, knowing from dire experience what ravages accompanied such a visitation as that with which they were threatened, besought the Queen and the Dauphiness to intercede for them with the dreaded freebooter. The royal ladies, who were probably not devoid of fear for their own safety, acceded to the request of the townsfolk, and each of them wrote to Villandrando, appealing to him

possit dictum Comitatum alienare, seu convenire ex hujusmodi numerare. Intendit tamen Rex Christianissimus, cum erit Parisiis, de hac re communicare cum Dominis Camera, Compotorum ac suis Thesaurariis: et tunc, possit jura [illegible] (Thomas Thorpe, Deeds, Public Records, Inventory of Scottish Affairs, Scotland, pp. 244 ff.)

[1] Vide ante, p. 27, note 1.

not to take his men through the province of Touraine, as rumour announced it was his intention to do. Philippe Bigot, one of the mounted messengers attached to the royal stables, was dispatched with the letters. On reaching La Châtre, where the four or five thousand men who composed the free company had taken up their quarters, he learnt that the leader was absent, and three days elapsed before opportunity offered for an interview with the formidable freebooter.

On his return to Tours, Bigot was able to allay the fears of the inhabitants by a glowing report of the reception that had been accorded him. After reading the royal letters, Villandrando had at once declared that, in spite of the importance of the enterprise on which he was engaged, by reason of the honour and reverence he owed to both the Queen and the Dauphiness, he would abandon his intention of passing through Touraine. And it afforded him pleasure, he added, to show the mark of respect to the Dauphin, whose obliged and devoted servant he wished to be considered. It was not only with this verbal message that Bigot had returned. He was also the bearer of a letter couched in terms no less satisfactory and cordial. Notwithstanding this double assurance, Tours, a fortnight later, was thrown into a state of even greater consternation on learning that the free company, instead of withdrawing, in accordance with the leader's promise, had advanced still nearer, and was encamped at Châtillon-sur-Indre, some twenty-five miles from

Loches. Once again the Queen and her daughter-in-law interposed. In the absence of Villandrando their letters were delivered to his lieutenant, the Bastard of Bourbon. Three days were spent in hesitation on his part, and in suspense on that of the inhabitants of Tours. At length, however, they learnt to their relief, that the free company had retired and was on its way towards the south.[1]

From what is known of the simplicity of Mary of Anjou's mode of life, it may be gathered that a dull monotony was the chief characteristic of the long months which Margaret spent in the company of her mother-in-law whilst the King and the Dauphin were warring in various parts of France, subduing rebels and wresting towns from the English. Every day the Queen's first duty was to attend the mass which her chaplain celebrated for her, in the chapel of the palace, and at which she regularly made her offering. The supervision of her household claimed no inconsiderable portion of her time. During her leisure hours she retired, with a few of her ladies, to her own room, where, whilst one of them read passages from the *Book of Hours*, or from some chronicle, the others busied themselves with various kinds of work. Intervals of gossip relieved the solemnity of these gatherings, at which, as the accounts of the household expenses show, there was a large consumption of nuts, caraway confits, and

[1] J. Quicherat: *Rodrigue de Vilandrando, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. vi, p. 204 and sq.

rose-sugar. And, on special occasions, wattles were also indulged in.[1]

In the beginning of July, 1437, the Dauphin, handing over his command to the Comte de La Marche, joined the Court, which was then at Gien-sur-Loire. It appears to have been then that he and Margaret began their conjugal life.[2] There is no evidence of any communication between him and his bride during the interval that had elapsed since their marriage. Of Charles VII, however, we know that at the beginning of 1437, when he was at Lyons, he sent his daughter-in-law the New Year's gift of a standing toilet mirror appropriately studded with pearls.[3]

The King's stay at Gien had been employed in gathering forces for a new expedition, on which he and the Dauphin set out about the middle of August. The Queen and the Dauphiness did not see them again until a few days before Christmas, when they both returned to Tours, to be congratulated on the capture of Montereau and on their triumphal entry into Paris.[4]

[1] Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, pp. 53–4.

[2] "Non tamen in thoro nupciali intraverunt usque post duos annos cum dimidio, quibus transactis, completi sunt in eis anni nubiles, et in lecto positi apud villam de Gien-sur-Laare; et sic matrimonium perfecte consummatum est, in nomine Jhesu Christi." (*Liber Pluscardensis*, lib. xi, cap. 4.)

[3] "A Madame la Dauphine, le premier jour de l'an 1436 (1437 n.s.), un miroir d'or à pied garni de perles, dont le roi luy a fait present pour ses estrennes." (*Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. i, p. 163.)

[4] "Le xxij jour dudit mois (décembre 1437) le roy arriva en sa ville de Tours, et Monseigneur le daulphin, où ilz furent très joyeusement receuz de la raigne et de madame la daulphine qui ne les avaient veuz depuis leur partement à aler au siege de Montreau." (*Percevál de Cagny*, p. 247.)

VIII

Margaret at the Court of France

Shortly after his marriage the Dauphin had been given an establishment of his own. There is no evidence to prove and no reason to believe that the King dealt otherwise than generously with him, or that the yearly allowance of 10,500 livres,[1] out of which he was not required to pay the salaries of the officers of his household, was insufficient to meet all reasonable requirements. But Louis, who, though but a youth, had already showed signs of the unscrupulous ambition and of the rebellious spirit that embittered his father's later years, affected to be greatly dissatisfied with the provision that had been made for him. In 1440, after the collapse of the Praguerie, and in the negotiations between the King on the one hand and the Dukes of Bourbon and of Alençon on the other, the leaders of the seditious faction with which the Dauphin had identified himself presented, in their own name and in his, a memorial containing a list of alleged grievances, for the redress of which they petitioned the Council

[1] Equivalent to about £13,000. "En 1436, la valeur moyenne de la livre tournois était d'environ 6 fr. 85, et le pouvoir des métaux comparé à leur pouvoir actuel pris comme unité, de 4½." (Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 136, note 2.)

and which they put forward in justification of their revolt. On behalf of the Dauphin it was claimed that for the proper maintenance of his state he should not only receive the revenues of the province of Dauphiné, which had been bestowed on former Dauphins, even at an earlier age than that which he had now attained, but also be appointed to the governorship of either Languedoc and Guyenne or of the Ile de France, that province of which Paris was the chief town.

In this document the Dauphiness was also made to figure, probably without her knowledge and certainly without her consent. On the ground that it was now licit and suitable for her to be more continuously with the Dauphin than had been formerly the case, the King was asked to provide her with a source of such uninterrupted revenue as might suffice for her expenses.[1] On the next day there was drawn up a memorandum of the reply which the King had ordered to be given to the Dukes of Bourbon and of Alençon with regard to the grievances alleged by them, both in their own name and in that of the Dauphin, as having been the causes of the "disobedience, crimes, indignities, and annoyances" of which they had been guilty towards him, and which it "would be too long to rehearse". In this reply a single clause dealt with the rebellious Dauphin's demands. It contained the

[1] "Et pource que doresenavant est licite et convenable que madame la Daulphine soit plus continuelement avec mondit seigneur qu'elle n'a esté le temps passé, plaise au Roy ordonner le fait de sa despence en lieu où il n'y ait aucune rompture." (*Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. iii, p. 23.)

dignified assurance that when my Lord the Dauphin should come to the King with the humility that beseemed him, the King would treat him as his only son, and would provide for his estate and for that of my Lady the Dauphiness in such manner as could not fail to satisfy him.[1]

From this time forward Louis showed so much indifference towards the unfortunate Dauphiness that she seems practically to have ceased to play any part in his life. That he entertained no affection for her had been evident from the outset. Commynes says of him that, when he reached man's estate he was married to a daughter of Scotland, much against his will, and that he never ceased to regret it as long as she lived.[2] Æneas Sylvius puts the matter still more strongly, and gives it as a notorious fact that the Dauphin conceived a hatred of his wife, suggesting that his treatment of her was the cause of the illness by which she was carried off.[3] At a later date two English chroniclers, both inspired by a whole-hearted detestation of Scotland, Hall and "his copyist Grafton", as Buchanan quite deservedly

[1] "Ce que le Roy a ordonné de respondre à Messeigneurs les ducs d'Alençon et de Bourbon sur aucunes doléances qu'ils firent hier, à Monferrant, à ceulx de son conseil, tant pour monseigneur le Daulphin que pour eulx, sur lesqueilles se causoient de la desobeissance, crimes, deshonneurs, et desplaisirs qu'ilz luy avoient faiz, qui seroit bien long à reciter. . . . . Quant monseigneur le Daulphin viendra devers le Roy en humilité qu'il doit, le Roy le traictera comme son seul filz et pourvoira à l'estat de luy et de madame la Daulphine en maniere qu'il en devra être content." (*Ibid.*, p. 24.)

[2] "Quant il fut homme, il fut marié à une fille d'Escoce, à son desplaisir et autant qu'elle vesquit il y eut regret." (*Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 274.)

[3] "Illud constat, Delphinum postea uxorem odio habuisse, illamque morbum tisicum incidisse, ex quo decessit." (*Commentarii*, p. 163.)

styles the latter,[1] allege in coarse and crude language, which the Scottish historian indignantly denounces, a reason for her husband's aversion. "The Lady Margaret", they say in identical words, "married to the Dolphin, was of such nasty complexion and evil-savoured breath that he abhorred her company as a clean creature doth a carrion, whereupon she conceived such an inward grief that within short time after she ended her days."[2]

Thanks to the love of letters which she had inherited from her father, Margaret was able to find comfort and enjoyment in following and encouraging the prevailing fashion, at a time when every young squire was as anxious to distinguish himself by his smartness at turning out a rondeau or a ballade as by his skill in wielding lance and sword, and when every maid of honour thought it to be no less incumbent upon her to give proof of her ingenuity in stringing rhymes together than to display her deftness in busking her lady's hair. One of the most outstanding members of her literary set was Hugues de Saint-Maard, vicomte de Blosseville, to whom the honour was for a long time done of attributing a poem of his to Villon. Amongst his fugitive pieces there is one that is addressed to her whom, in accordance with poetical conventionalities, he had chosen for his lady. Contrary to custom, he gives a clue to her identity by introducing the initial letter of her name. Indeed, the whole poem

[1] *The History of Scotland*, translated by Watkins, p. 249.
[2] *Hall*, p. 186; *Grafton*, vol. i, p. 612.

is a rhyming exercise on the letter M, and admits of no doubt that the object of the assumed passion, to which it gives expression in somewhat trite language, was no less exalted a person than the Dauphiness herself:

Celle pour qui je porte l'M,
Je vous asseure que je l'ame
Tant fort qu'a peu que n'en desvye
Ne jamaiz d'aultre amer envye
N'auray, ne que de rendre l'ame.

Je l'ay choysie pour ma dame,
Dont je ne crains reprouche d'ame,
Car de tous biens est assouvye
Celle pour qui je porte l'M.

D'elle partout je me reclame,
En la louant, sans donner blame
A personne qui soit en vye;
Et si la sers et l'ay servie
Et serviray mieulx qu'aultre fame,
Celle pour qui je porte l'M.[1]

Another important figure in the select company was Jehan d'Estouteville, lord of Torcy and Blainville. Although his extant poems are but slight, consisting of only two rondeaux and one ballade, which afford no indication of more than average talent, d'Estouteville enjoyed a very high literary reputation amongst his contemporaries. It is he whom we find chosen as judge by Blosseville in the latter's *Débat du Vieil et du Jeune*.[2] Born in 1405, he was old enough to have seen much active service

[1] *Rondeaux et autres Poésies du XV^e siècle*, publiées par Gaston Raynaud, p. 72.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. xxxi–ii.

by the time Margaret came over to France. As early as 1421 he was master of the crossbowmen, and in 1424, when only nineteen years of age, he was considered "one of the good and true knights that were with the regent",[1] and there is evidence that he stood in high favour at Court.

A well-known anecdote, for which the original authority is the sixteenth-century chronicler Bouchet, but which is indebted to Brantôme for the currency it has long enjoyed, would justify us in assuming that Alain Chartier must also have figured amongst the literary notabilities whom the patronage of the Dauphiness attracted to her Court. "My Lady Margaret, daughter of the King of Scots," says the author of the *Annales d'Aquitaine*, "greatly favoured the orators who made use of the vulgar tongue, and amongst others Master Alain Chartier, who is the Father of French eloquence, and whom she held in high esteem by reason of the good and beautiful works which he had composed. So much was this the case, that one day as she was passing through a room in which the said Master Alain had fallen asleep on a bench, she went up to him, and in presence of her whole company kissed him as he slept. The gentleman who accompanied her was jealous of this, and said to her: 'Madam, I am amazed at your having kissed a man who is so ugly', for, indeed, his face was not well favoured. But she made reply: 'I have not kissed the man,

[1] "L'un des bons et vrais chevaliers qui fust avec le régent." (*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 196.)

but the precious lips from which have come so many eloquent words and virtuous sayings.'"[1]

The pretty story has not stood the test that modern erudition has applied to it. In the scholarly article which he has devoted to Alain Chartier, M. Gaston Paris discusses the date of the poet's death, and comes to the conclusion that it probably occurred prior to 1433. From this he deduces that, Margaret not having come to France till 1436, the story of the kiss must be considered apocryphal. But the critic himself is loath entirely to dispel the pleasing delusion. He recalls the fact that Alain was a member of the embassy which had gone to Scotland in 1428 to propose for Margaret's hand, and suggests that it was perhaps at her father's Court that the young Princess bestowed upon Chartier this graceful tribute of admiration. But, if the child's age and the other circumstances of the case be borne in mind, the saving clause can hardly be accepted.[2]

Amongst the Maids of Honour of the Dauphiness there were several who shared and encouraged her literary tastes. To one of these in particular, Jehanne Filleul, special interest attaches from the fact that a

[1] Quoted in *Œuvres de Brantôme*, vol. viii, p. 171–2.

[2] "On peut admettre qu'il était mort en 1433. . . . On comprend dès lors que Chartier ne figure pas parmi les poètes qui déplorèrent la mort prématurée de Marguerite d'Ecosse (1445). Mais Marguerite n'étant venue en France qu'en 1436, l'histoire du baiser devrait être rejetée si Alain était mort en 1433. Il est vrai qu'Alain avait fait partie de l'ambassade qui, en 1427, était allée demander en Ecosse la main de Marguerite, et c'est peut-être à la cour de son père que la jeune princesse lui avait donné ce gracieux témoignage d'admiration." (*Romania*, vol. xiv, p. 414.)

rondeau of hers has come down to us, and that she contributes to that extent to the very scant material that enables us to form some estimate of the poetical productions of which the composing occupied the leisure and the reading provided for the entertainment of Margaret's literary circle. The poem is addressed to a lover whose name is not revealed nor even hinted at, for whom an engrossing affection is expressed in the accepted language of such conventional verse, and with the usual note of insincere despair at imaginary indifference :—

Hélas! mon amy, sur mon ame
Plus qu'aultre famme
J'ay de douleur si largement
Que nullement
Avoir confort je ne puis d'ame.

J'ay tant de dueil en ma pensée,
Que trespassée
Est ma leesse depiecza:
A l'heure que m'eustes laissée
Seule esgarée
Tout mon plaisir se trespassa.

Dont maleureuse je me clame,
Par Nostre Dame,
D'estre voustre si longuement,
Car clerement
Je congnoys que trop fort vous ame,
Hélas! mon amy, sur mon ame.[1]

Nothing that Margaret herself wrote has survived the deliberate and ruthless destruction of all her

[1] *Rondeaux et autres Poésies*, p. 76.

papers by order of her husband.[1] But we know that she devoted herself to verse-making with an immoderate ardour that verged on infatuation; that it was sometimes nearly sunrise before she could tear herself away from the fascinating occupation of rhyming rondeaux and ballades; that she was known to produce as many as twelve of these in one day; that the doctors attributed her delicate health, in part at least, to the sleepless nights which she spent at her self-imposed task; and that fault was found with some of her ladies for encouraging their mistress in her poetical overwork.[2]

[1] "Il (le Dauphin) ramassa toutes les lettres et tous les vers de la Dauphine et les supprima." (Le Grand: *Histoire manuscrite*, quoted by G. de Beaucourt, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 189.)

[2] In Jamet de Tillay's deposition, at the official enquiry ordered by the King after the death of the Dauphiness, there occur the following passages: "Et le roi lui demanda, d'où procède cette maladie? Et il qui parle, lui dit qu'elle venoit de faute de repos, comme disoient les médecins, et qu'elle veilloit tant, aucunefois plus, aucunefois moins, que aucunefois il étoit presque soleil levant avant qu'elle s'allât coucher, et que aucunefois monseigneur le Dauphin avoit dormi un somme ou deux avant qu'elle s'allât coucher, et aucunefois s'occupoit à faire rondeaux, tellement qu'elle en faisoit aucunefois douze pour un jour, qui lui étoit chose bien contraire. Et lors le roi demanda si cela faisoit mal à la tête, et monsieur le trésorier, maître Jehan Bureau, là présent, dit, 'Oui, qui s'y abuse trop; mais ce sont choses de plaisance.' . . . Il qui dépose dit à monsieur de Châtillon qu'il remontrât à Prégente de Melun, qu'elle et autres ne fessent plus tant veiller ladite dame, car il avoit sçeu par les médecins qui la visitoient paravant sa maladie, que, si elle ne se donnait garde et qu'elle ne veillât moins qu'elle n'avoit accoutumé, elle étoit en danger de cheoir en une très griève maladie. . . . Lui semble que ledit Nicole lui demanda ce qu'elle (la Dauphine) avoit, et d'où procédoit cette maladie, et il qui parle lui répondit que les médecins disoient qu'elle avoit un courroux sur le cœur, qui lui faisoit grand dommage, et aussi que faute de repos lui nuisoit beaucoup; et lors ledit Nicole dit que lesdits médecins lui en avoient autant dit, et aussi dit: 'Plût à Dieu qu'elle n'eût jamais eu telle femme à elle!' 'Et quelle?' dit il qui parle. Et lors ledit, Nicole lui répondit: 'Marguerite de Salignac.' Et il qui parle lui dit: 'Plût à Dieu, ne aussi Prégente, ne Jehanne Filloque!' Requis pourquoi il dit lesdites paroles, dit pour ce qu'il avoit ouï dire que c'étoient

The chronicler who makes reference to Margaret's stay at the French Court during the years that elapsed before she went to live with the Dauphin, tells us that "she was most thoroughly beloved and trusted by the King and Queen of France".[1] They both continued their kindness to her even when she had an establishment of her own. And it is almost exclusively in connection with them that the records of the period afford us occasional glimpses of her. She accompanied the Queen on the 17th of April, 1444, when the Earl of Suffolk and the English ambassadors, who had come to France to negotiate for a permanent peace and for the marriage of Henry VI with Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Anjou and Lorraine, and niece of the King of France, after having been admitted to an audience with Charles, were received in state by his royal consort at Montils-les-Tours, a mile outside the town.[2]

The arrival of the ambassadors was the signal for

celles qui la faisoient trop veiller, et faire rondeaux et ballades." (Duclos: *Histoire de Louis XI*, appendix, vol. iv, *Œuvres complètes*, pp. 25 and sq.)

[1] *The Book of Pluscarden*, bk. xi, chap. 4.

[2] "Crastina vero die proxime sequenti predicti ambaciatores Regis conducti erant ad presenciam Regis francorum per miliare extra civitatem predictam vbi predictus Rex statum suum custodiens literas nostri Regis recipiens a manibus domini Suthfollke et aliorum ambaciatorum hillari vultu, presentibus predicto Rege Cisilie, dolphino, duce de Calaber et aliis supra nominatis, qui sic recepti a rege et licencia accepta conducti erant per predictum ducem de Orleaunce vsque presenciam Regine francie in quadam camera vbi prefata Regina tali modo custodiens statum suum cum dolphenissa aliisque dominis et generosis mulieribus ad numerum XL, attendentes super ipsam comes de Vendone, comes de Sayntpowle, comes de tampes et alii quamplures." (*Harleian Library*, MS. Digby, folio 155 v°.)

festivities such as were, in those days, the usual accompaniments of diplomatic missions. On the 1st of May a brilliant cavalcade of lords and ladies rode out from Montils. It was headed by the Queen of France and the Dauphiness, who, with their retinues of noble dames and damsels, were going a-maying.[1] Later in the month Pierre de Brezé, one of the French courtiers, proposed a shooting match for one hundred crowns a side, between a team which he undertook to provide and an equal number of picked English archers. Suffolk accepted the challenge, on condition that the stakes should be raised to a thousand crowns. The terms were agreed to by Brezé, who brought to the butts a chosen body of Scotsmen selected from the King's body-guard, and richly apparelled in gold-embroidered "hukes". They justified the confidence placed in them; and Margaret had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of her countrymen, who outclassed their opponents at every point.[2]

On the 24th of May the betrothal by proxy of Henry VI to the Princess Margaret of Anjou took place in the Church of St. Martin. The Dauphiness was present at the ceremony, as well as at the State banquet which subsequently took place in the abbey of St. Juliana, and in the course of which the guests

[1] "Preterea primo die may Regina francie cum dolphenissa et aliis post prandium equitaverunt ad campos pro may habenda cum galantis Militibus Armigeris sub numero CCC." (*Ibid.*)

[2] "Bene sagittabant quidquid non adhuc anglici sagittabant pulcrius procul et cum maioribus sagittis et laudabiliter sunt commendati et sic habuerunt honorem." (*Ibid.*)

were entertained to a quaint show that introduced two giants carrying large trees in their hands, and two camels bearing on their backs towers, from which men dressed up like soldiers performed a kind of sham fight.[1]

After the betrothal of his daughter, René d'Anjou proceeded to Nancy. He was accompanied by the King of France, whose help he had solicited for the purpose of laying siege to the town of Metz, the inhabitants of which refused to acknowledge his authority.[2] Charles and René reached Nancy at the beginning of September. They were later joined by the Queens of France and of Sicily, by the Dauphiness, and by the Princess Margaret of Anjou, who was already known by the title of Queen of England.

At this time the Dauphin was carrying on military operations in Alsace. On the 7th of October, whilst leading in person an assault on the town of Dambach, at the foot of the Vosges, he was wounded by an arrow, which, penetrating his leg above the knee, fixed itself firmly in the saddle of his horse. The injury, however, was not of a very serious nature, and, under the care of his physicians, he was soon able to recover from its effects. But the news of the occurrence had spread rapidly, and reached the ears

[1] "Inter que intraverunt duo gigantes cum duobus magnis arboribus in eorum manibus, et post ipsos duo cameli cum castellis super dorsa eorum, et similes hominibus armaturis pugnantibus et jactantibus lanceas suas unus ad alium vel alterutrum." (*Ibid.*)

[2] "Ils se monstroient rebelles disant non estre au roi." (Jean Chartier: *Chronique de Charles VII*, vol. ii, p. 44.)

of the King, who manifested great anxiety at his son's condition, and urged his immediate return. Louis, who was engaged in negotiations with the House of Austria, hesitated to comply. That his first intention was to pass the winter at Ensisheim, where he had established his head-quarters, was evidenced by the instructions which he sent to the Dauphiness to join him there, and by the steps which he took to enable her to travel in safety and comfort through the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy. In consequence of a communication which it had received from him, the Town Council of Dijon, on the 8th of November, dispatched Aubertin Hébert with letters for Jehan de La Trémoille, the Duke's Chamberlain, and Guillaume Dubois, his Master of the Household, informing them of the projected journey, and requesting them to receive my Lady the Dauphiness, if it should take her through Burgundian territory, "as honourably as could be done". Jehan Viars, another dispatch-bearer, was sent to the Marshal of Burgundy, at Lisle-sur-le-Doulx, with a similar message. But the turn which affairs were taking in Alsace induced the Dauphin to reconsider his decision. His wife's journey was countermanded; and in the last days of November he set out for Nancy, which, however, he did not reach till the following February.[1]

[1] "A Aubertin Hebert, chevaucheur . . . le VIII[e] jour dudit mois de novembre, la somme de dix-huit gros pour son voyage de porter lettres closes de par Mesdisseigneurs du Conseil après Mons[r] d'Arcis pouricelles bailler à Messire Jehan de La Trémoille, conseiller et chambellan de mondit seigneur, et à Guillaume Dubois, maistre d'ostel d'icellui seigneur, touchans la venue de

Early in the following year the Earl of Suffolk came over from England to fetch the young bride, whom he was to espouse as proxy for Henry VI. René had long been absent from the capital of his duchy and prevented from indulging his taste for courtly pageantry and knightly sports. The brilliant company of French and English lords and ladies that had now gathered at Nancy gave him an opportunity, of which he readily availed himself, to inaugurate at his Court that era of splendour for which, no less than for its culture and its refinement, it was to become famous. The marriage of his daughter, which took place in the month of February, was celebrated in the midst of festivities that lasted for a week, and included a tournament of four days' duration. Nothing is recorded as to the part taken by the Dauphiness. The circumstances were not such as to bring her into prominence, and it is hardly surprising that the bare fact of her presence is all that can be gathered from the chroniclers who describe the wedding at Nancy.

The French Court took its departure from Lorraine at the end of April. The Queen, accompanied by the Dauphin and the Dauphiness, and by René d'Anjou's son, who was titular Duke of Calabria, as

Madame la Daulphine et sur ce que si elle presnoit son chemin par le pais de Bourgoingne de la recevoir le plus honorablement que fere se pourroit. . . . A Jehan Viars, aussi chevaucheur . . . la somme de trois frans et demi pour son voyage de porter lettres de par Mesdisseigneurs du Conseil dudit Dijon à Monseigneur le Mareschal de Bourgoingne, estans lors à Lisle sur le Doulx, par lesquelles messeigneurs lui escripvoient touchant la venue de Madame la Daulphine, que l'on disoit estre es païs de Bourgoingne." (Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 383, n.)

his father was nominal King of Sicily, proceeded directly to Châlons, which she reached on the 4th of May. Charles, having travelled by a longer road that took him through several towns where he made short halts, did not join her till the 29th of the month. He took up his residence in the episcopal palace of Sarry, a short distance outside the town.

Amongst the noteworthy events that marked the King's stay at Châlons, where he had come to transact much important business, there was the reception of the Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, who had been entrusted by her husband with a diplomatic mission. She remained nearly two months at the French Court, and during that time the most intimate relations sprang up between her and Marie of Anjou, who, from the moment of their first meeting, had displayed the utmost friendliness and cordiality towards her guest.[1] Both she and the Duchess were of middle age, she being forty, whilst Isabella was her senior by six years; and both had reached a phase of life when, as Oliver de la Marche quaintly phrases it, they were "hors de bruyt".[2] But, if the ordinary frivolities of Court life did not supply them with subjects of common interest, there were more serious matters to inspire them with sympathy with each other. These were to be found in the similarity of their domestic troubles. "I am inclined to believe", says the Duke of Burgundy's literary page,

[1] "Et disoit Madame de la Roche Guion, qui estoit première dame de la Royne, qu'elle n'avoit veu venir personne du royaume devers la Royne à qui elle fit tant d'honneur qu'à Madame la Duchesse." (G. de Beaucourt: *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. iv, p. 96.) [2] *Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 54.

"that they had the same grievance and complaint, which is called jealousy; and that often in their confidential intercourse they talked together of what they had to suffer, which was the cause of their intimacy."[1] And, in truth, both of them had good reasons "pour eulx douloir et complaindre l'une à l'aultre de leur creve-cuer";[2] for the King of France was at that time infatuated with Agnes Sorel, whilst the Duke of Burgundy had long been notorious for the infidelities which, in the words of the outspoken chronicler, had brought him "une moult belle compagnie de bâtards et de bâtardes".[3]

But if a common cause of unhappiness placed the two aggrieved wives on an equal footing in private, the etiquette of the Court did not allow of the same familiarity between the Queen and the Duchess. So rigidly were its conventions observed that Isabella was never invited to dine or to sup with either of her royal hosts.[4] She was, however, frequently entertained by the Dauphiness. Margaret, too, was a neglected wife, though in her case, her husband's indifference towards women saved her from the humiliation of having a rival; and the older woman's sympathy went out to her. The kindly and warm-hearted Duchess won the heart of Margaret, who frequently called upon her, and sometimes extended her visits to two or three days.[5] But even the

[1] *Mémoires*, vol. ii, p. 54. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] "Oncques elle ne disna ne soupa avecq aucun des deux." (*Aliénor de Poitiers*, quoted by de Beaucourt, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 96.)

[5] "Madame la Daulphine venoit bien vers madame la Duchesse, et là estoient elles aucunes fois deux ou trois jours sans se partir." (*Ibid.*)

personal friendship to which such gracious conduct testified could not set aside the ceremonious formalities which difference of rank imposed. And when the Duchess was honoured by sitting at table with the Dauphiness, she never failed to kneel in respectful homage at the rising of the latter.[1]

Between the haughty Duchess and the wily Dauphin relations were far from friendly; and on one occasion very high words passed between them. The quarrel was so serious that, when Philippe de Courcelles, Bailiff of Dijon, was sent by Isabella as a messenger to her husband, he was expressly instructed to inform the Duke of what had happened.[2]

The Duchess of Burgundy was but one of many important personages whom diplomatic business had brought to the French Court. Besides her there were representatives of the Duke of Milan, of the Duke of Savoy, of the King of Castille, of the German Electors, of the Duke of York, of the Emperor, and of the Patriarch of Constantinople. For the entertainment of those guests there were, in the day-time, splendid jousts, at which some of the most renowned knights of the period, the famous Jacques Lalaing amongst others, displayed their prowess, and which the King himself, under a transparent disguise which courtly complaisance respected, honoured by entering the lists, with Pierre de Brezé as his opponent. The evenings were devoted to

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "Item parlera ledit Philippe à mondit seigneur du fait de mondit seigneur le Dauphin et des paroles que lui et madite dame ont eues ensemble." (Tuetey: *Archives de la Côte-d'Or*, vol. ii, p. 185.)

banquets followed by dances, in one of which at least the Dauphiness took part. Evidence of this is supplied by the programme of a ballet drawn up on the fly-leaf of a manuscript which had belonged to Jean d'Orleans, Comte d'Angoulême, who had just returned to his native country after thirty-three years' captivity in England, to which he had been taken as a hostage when a mere child of eight. From this quaint document, which is almost beyond doubt in the handwriting of the Comte himself, it appears that the performance, in which four ladies and two gentlemen took part, opened with the "Basse danse de Bourgogne".[1] That was a stately measure, much

[1] This programme is preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (MS. français, 5699). The abridged form in which it is written gives it the appearance of a cryptogram. The deciphering here given is that suggested by M. Vallet de Viriville. The programme itself is due to the courtesy of M. Léon Dorez, of the *Bibliothèque nationale*:—

Basse danse de Bourgogne

III (pas) s[imples]; 5 d[oubles]; III s[imples] a costé droict; III r[eprises]; I congié; III s[imples]; I d[ouble]; III s[imples] a costé droict; III r[eprises]; I congié.

De la royne de Cessile

III s[imples]; IIII d[oubles]; I sault avaunt; I d[ouble] à senestre; III s[imples] à destre; III r[eprises]; III s[imples]; I d[ouble]; III s[imples] reculés; III r[eprises]; I congié.

De Bourbon

III s[imples]; II d[oubles]; I sault; I congié; III s[imples] à destre; une levée; III s[imples]; I d[ouble]; III s[imples] reculés; III r[eprises]; II congiés.

De Ma dame de Kalabre

IIII s[imples] et III saulz; IIII d[oubles]; II s[imples] reculés; II r[eprises]; I congié; III s[imples]; I sault du pié destre; II congiés.

Ma dame la daufine

III d[oubles]; II d[oubles] d[oubles]; III pas menus reculés; II levées; IIII s[imples]; III saulz; II congiés.

in vogue at the time, and consisting, as the epithet applied to it indicates, of a series of gliding steps, low bows, and deep curtsies, that did not require the feet to be raised from the floor. This first figure, in which all the dancers joined, was followed by six others, which each of them went through singly. The performers, in the order in which they came forward, were Isabella of Lorraine, wife of René d'Anjou; Charles, Duc de Bourbon; his daughter, who was known as Madame de Calabre, having married Jean d'Anjou, son of René, and titular Duke of Calabria; the Dauphiness; Madame de Facon, presumably a lady of the royal household; and a gentleman called Falet, a name which may be either his own or one applied to him, as it was to a character in the mystery plays, to designate a performer who introduced an element of comedy.

To enable his daughter-in-law to appear in suitable state at the Court functions of both Nancy and Châlons, King Charles had made her the handsome present of 2000 livres for silks and furs, to make dresses to adorn her.[1] An earlier gift of 300 livres,

Ma dame de Facon

III s[imples]; I d[ouble]; III pas menus; I levée; I congié; IIII d[oubles]; III saulz; I double à senestre; III s[imples] à destre; III s[imples] à destre; III r[eprises]; II congiés.

Falet

I congié; III pas s[imples]; IIII pas doubles; III pas à costé; II r[eprises] de pas simples; deus pas d[oubles]; III pas s[imples] arrière; I congié.

[1] "2 juillet, 1445. Nous, Marguerite, daulphine de Viennois, confessons avoir eu et receu de maistre Estienne Petit, secretaire de Monseigneur le Roy . . . la somme de 2000 livres tournois à nous donnée par mondit seigneur . . . et icelle somme nous a fait bailler et délivrer comptant par les mains de Jacques

"pour ses plaisirs et menues affaires",[1] recorded in an account that has come down to us, bears out what the chroniclers state as to the favour in which the Dauphiness always stood with the King; and is perhaps further accounted for by the absence of any indication of her husband's liberality towards her. But, if there is evidence of the most friendly relations between Charles and his daughter-in-law, there is none to justify the statement made by the author of the *Book of Pluscarden*,[2] that Margaret "almost ruled the King and kingdom at will by her advice, with consummate tact and wisdom; whereby she was most thoroughly beloved and trusted by the King and Queen of France, and her words listened to". A single instance is recorded, and that by only one chronicler, of her interference in state affairs. According to the compilation known as the *Chronique de Praillon*, in the course of the hostilities between the King of France and the city of Metz she endeavoured to bring about a peaceful settlement.[3]

Cuer, son argentier, nous estant naguères à Nancy en Lorraine, pour avoir des draps de soies et martres pour faire robes pour nostre personne." (*Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. i, p. 200.)

[1] Neuvième compte de Xaincoins, cabinet des titres, f. 82 v°.

[2] Book xi, chap. 7.

[3] "Icelle vaillant damme, durant la guerre que le roy de France faisoit contre la cité de Metz, avoit prins paine de paciffier et accordeir icelle guerre." (*Relation du siège de Metz*, p. 292.)

IX

Gossip and Slander

If, amongst those with whom the daily life of the Dauphiness brought her into contact, there were some whom similarity of tastes inspired with sympathy and in whose company she might find solace, others were not wanting who, when they realized the nature of the relations that existed between her and the Dauphin, did not scruple to avail themselves of what seemed to them a favourable opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the husband by doing their utmost to aggravate the troubles of the wife. One such was found in Jamet de Tillay, Bailiff of Vermandais, a member of the royal household. He was a man of middle age, but years had not brought with them either seriousness or self-respect. He was notorious for the levity of his conduct and for his love of ill-natured gossip, no less than for his open disregard of the observances of religion. Margaret made no secret of her dislike for this unprincipled and unscrupulous scoffer and scandalmonger; and both her actions and her words revealed to her attendants her aversion for him. Speaking of him to two of her Maids, Marguerite de Villequier and Marguerite de Hacqueville, she said, on more than one occasion,

that she had no reason to be kindly disposed towards him, and that, indeed, she hated him more than any man in the world. She charged him with having done his best to cause trouble between her and her husband, with having embittered her life, and with having said of her the very worst things that could be imputed to any woman.[1]

The least offensive of the remarks that Jamet de Tillay was heard to make about Margaret referred to her inordinate devotion to literature and to her harmful habit of spending whole nights at verse-making. He himself admitted having urged Monsieur de Châtillon to remonstrate with Prégente

[1] "Marguerite de Villequier . . . dit et dépose que deux ans a ou environ, autrement du temps ne se recorde, elle qui parle, a, par plusieurs fois, ouï dire à madite dame la Dauphine, ainsi qu'on parloit aucunefois de malveillances, qu'elle n'étoit point tenue à Jamet de Tillay, et qu'elle le hayoit plus que tous les hommes du monde, et qu'il avoit mis peine de la mettre mal de Monseigneur le Dauphin. Et environ huit jours avant que madite dame fût malade, elle étoit au dehors et devant le château de Sarry, en un pré; ledit Jamet de Tillay vint à elle qui parle et lui pria qu'elle l'excusât envers madite dame en lui disant qu'il n'en avoit oncques parlé, en priant aussi à elle qui parle, qu'elle sçut de madite dame, qui étoient ceux qui avoient raporté à madite dame les paroles, en disant à elle qui parle, qu'il voudroit bien sçavoir qui étoient ceux qui les avoient raportées, pour soi excuser devant eux à madite dame, et leur dire en présence de madite dame qu'il n'en étoit rien. Et lendemain, elle qui parle, récita à madite dame ce que ledit Jamet lui avoit dit, et madite dame lui répondit que c'étoit l'homme du monde qu'elle devoit plus haïr, et qu'il ne falloit point qu'il s'en excusât, et n'avoit cure de ses excusations; car elle sçavoit bien qu'il avoit dit les paroles."—"Marguerite d'Acqueville . . . dit et dépose, par son serment que, huit jours avant que la reine partît de Nancy, elle qui parle, ouït dire à madite dame, ainsi comme l'on parloit de gens qui parloient légièrement, que il y en avoit un qui parloit bien légièrement, et qu'elle le devoit bien haïr; et elle qui parle lui demanda qu'il étoit; et madite dame lui répondit que c'étoit Jamet de Tillay, et qu'il avoit mis et mettoit peine de jour en jour de la faire être en la malgrace de Monseigneur le Dauphin et qu'elle avoit eu et encore avoit beaucoup de maux par lui, et qu'on ne pourroit jamais dire plus mauvaises paroles de femme, qu'il avoit dit d'elle." (*Duclos.*)

de Melun, one of Margaret's attendants, and to induce her no longer to encourage her mistress to deprive herself of her natural rest for the sake of rhyming rondeaux and ballades. Neither did he deny having spoken to Nicole Chambre, the King's equerry, on the same subject, and said he wished to God the Dauphiness had never had Prégente, Marguerite de Salignac, or Jeanne Filloque amongst her attendants, as it was they who were mainly responsible for her sleepless nights.[1]

Another matter which was commented upon by Court gossip was that of Margaret's childlessness; and it was brought home to Jamet de Tillay that he had, if not actually originated, at least helped to circulate the report of her being responsible for it herself, and of its being due to her drinking vinegar, eating sour apples, and lacing sometimes too tightly and sometimes too loosely. Nor is his denial sufficient to refute the assertion that he had discussed in the coarsest terms the subject of the Dauphin's estrangement from his wife, and had callously suggested that the death of the Dauphiness would be to the advantage of the country, which was anxious that the succession to the throne should be assured.[2]

[1] See ante, Chap. VIII, p. 122, note 2.

[2] "Dict aussi il qui parle (de Tillay) que deux ou trois jours avant le trespassement de madicte dame, Monseigneur le Mareschal de la Fayette, Maistre Jehan Bureau, Monseigneur de Charny et il qui parle estoient ensemble en l'eglise de Nostre Dame de Chaalons, ainsi qu'ils parloient de madicte dame, ledict Monseigneur de Charny dist qu'il avoit entendu qu'elle n'estoit pas habile à porter enfans, et si ainsi estoit qu'elle allast de vie à trespassement, il faudra marier Monseigneur le Daulphin à une autre qui fut encline à porter enfans. Et lors il qui parle dict qu'il avoit ouy dire à Madame de Boismenard qu'elle avoit autresfois dict à madicte dame qu'elle mangeoit trop de pommes aigres

Whilst the Court was at Nancy, there occurred an incident which, even according to Jamet's own account of it, reveals on his part a presumptuous insolence that is hardly to be accounted for except on the assumption that he was acting with the connivance, if not at the instigation of the Dauphin. One evening about Christmas time, as he was coming from the King's apartments, he met Regnault de Dresnay, Master of the Household to the Dauphiness, and suggested that they should go and see the ladies. Bearing each a wax candle in his hand, for it was as late as nine o'clock, they made their way to Margaret's room, where they found her lying on her couch, surrounded by several of her ladies. Two gentlemen were also present. One of them, Jean d'Estouteville, Lord of Torcy and of Blainville, a leading member of the literary circle, was on one side of the couch, and leaning with his elbow upon it. The other, whom de Tillay did not recognize, was on the opposite side. Although darkness had long set in, the only light in the apartment was afforded by the flickering flames of the logs that were blazing in the hearth. As if to make quite sure that it was no other than Margaret who was reclining on the couch, Jamet brought his candle quite close to her, and, pretending to be greatly shocked at the discovery, rated the

et de vinaigre, et se ceignoit aucunesfois trop serré, aucunesfois lasche, qui estoit chose qui empeschoit bien à avoir enfans. . . . Interrogé s'il dict oncques à Monsieur de Tanquarville, que Monseigneur le Daulphin n'aimoit point ladicte dame pource que par avanture les basses marches ne se portoient pas bien, Dict que non. Interrogé pourquoi il dict à Marguerite de Villequier, que ce seroit le profit de ce royaume que ladicte Dame fust morte, Dict qu'oncques en sa vie ne dict lesdictes paroles." (MS. Dupuy, 762, *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

Master of the Household for the impropriety—his own coarse word was "paillardie"—of having had neither candles nor torches lighted. And he affected to look upon it as an aggravating circumstance that such unseemliness should have occurred whilst they were amongst strangers. According to de Dresnay, this outrageous conduct was followed by words far more grossly and scandalously insulting than those acknowledged by the Bailiff himself. The Master of the Household subsequently taxed him with having said of the Dauphiness that her deportment was rather that of a wanton than of a great lady. Though this was emphatically contradicted by de Tillay, his denial was hardly consistent with his admission that, after leaving Margaret's room, he had boasted to his companion of having put her to shame.[1]

[1] "Et estoit bien recors que un certain jour environ Noël, lequel autrement ne sçauroit déclarer, sur le tart, en l'hostel où le Roy estoit logé audict Nancey, en descendant du logis d'iceluy seigneur, il rencontra messire Regnault de Dernezay et luy dist ces paroles: 'Allons veoir les dames', et eux deux allèrent ensemble en la chambre de Madame la Daulphine et la trouvèrent en la petite chambre couchée sur une couche, et y avoit bon feu en ladicte chambre, mais il n'y avoit ne torche ne chandelle. Et il qui parle tenoit une chandelle de bougie en sa main, laquelle il apporta près de madicte dame, et estoit avecques elle sur ladicte couche, appuyé sur le coude, Monseigneur de Blainville et un autre assis de l'autre cousté, lequel il ne congneut, et au retour de ladicte chambre, dist audict Messire Regnault que c'estoit grand paillardie à luy qui estoit maistre d'hostel, veu qu'ils estoient en pais estrange, qu'il n'y avoit torches ou chandelles en ladicte chambre; lequel respondy qu'il disoit verité." . . . "Cedict jour furent confrontez l'un devant l'autre Messire Regnault de Dernezay et ledict Jamet sur ce que ledict Messire Regnault dict et maintient que ledict Jamet luy avoit dict les paroles ainsi et par la forme et manière qu'elles sont contenues en sa deposition. Ledict Jamet a dict et respondu audict Messire Regnault en la présence de nous dessusdicts que bien avoit dict que Madame avoit eu honte, mais il ne dict oncques qu'elle teinst mieux manière de paillarde que de grande maistresse, en perseverant et continuant en sa confession par luy premièrement faicte." (MS. *ut supra.*)

A scene that was enacted shortly after this, when the French Court had removed to Sarry, near Châlons, testifies to Margaret's resentment of de Tillay's treatment of her, and to the aversion with which it had inspired her. One evening her Lady-in-Waiting, Jeanne de Tucé, was on her way to Vespers in the Queen's apartments, when she met Jamet, who was "amusing himself and joking" with two of Margaret's Maids of Honour—Jeanne de Guise and Yolande de La Barre—"as he was wont to do with all of them". As she passed by he called out to her, "Where are you going, old lady?" Madame de Tucé, whose forty-five years entitled her to be addressed with more deference, answered curtly that she had not come to fetch him, for she knew how little he cared for Vespers, or indeed for any of the services of the Church. At that moment the Dauphiness also appeared. As soon as she caught sight of Jamet she turned abruptly and went back; and when Madame de Tucé, who had followed her, overtook her, she asked what that "worthy" man, as she ironically called the Bailiff, had been speaking about. To the assurance that he had only been jesting, as usual, but otherwise saying nothing that was bad, she replied that he was far too fond of indulging in malicious talk, and that it was not his fault if he had not made her incur the displeasure both of the King and of the Dauphin.[1] And,

[1] Jeanne de Tucé, "dit et dépose par son serment, qu'environ le mois d'août dernièrement passé, elle étant en la compagnie de feue madame la Dauphine, dont Dieu ait l'âme, au châtel de Sarry près Chaalons, un jour duquel elle n'est

indeed, there is reason to believe that Jamet not only made it his business to keep Louis well informed as to the doings and sayings of the Dauphiness, and took care to report them in such a way that the least favourable construction should be put upon them, but also instigated an attempt to poison the King's mind and to prejudice him against his daughter-in-law. It was believed at Court that if a certain Maître Jacques Despars was the writer of letters that had been sent to him, the real author of them was Jamet de Tillay, and his mere denial of the charge can hardly be accepted as a convincing refutation of it.[1]

Even by members of her own household, Margaret's conduct was discussed and commented upon in a manner that suggests amongst some of them a disposition to impute questionable motives

recors, et devers le soir d'icelui jour, elle entra au retrait de la reine pour dire ses vêpres, et illec trouva Jamet de Tillay, lequel devisoit avec Jeanne de Guise et Yolande de La Barre, lequel Jamet, quand il vit elle qui dépose, lui dit en riant, et par ébatement: 'Où allez, vieille?' Et elle qui dépose lui répondit: 'Je ne vous quiers pas, vous n'êtes pas homme de dévotion, ne de vêpres.' Et peu de temps après survint madame la Dauphine, laquelle entra dedans ledit retrait, et comme elle y fut entrée, elle apperçut ledit Jamet, et incontinent elle s'en retourna tout court, sans dire mot, et s'en yssit dudit retrait; et tantôt elle qui parle, s'en alla après madite dame, et adonc madite dame apella celle qui parle, et lui demanda: 'Que vous disoit ce vaillant homme, Jamet?' Laquelle qui parle lui répondit, qu'il ne lui disoit nul mal, mais s'ébattoit et bourdoit avec elle ainsi qu'il avoit coutume de faire avec les autres; et madame dit à elle qui parle: 'Si a-t-il bien de coutume d'en dire assez.' Adonc elle qui parle demanda à madite dame pourquoi elle le disoit, et madite dame lui répondit que c'étoit un vaillant officier, et qu'il ne tenoit pas à lui qu'il ne l'avoit mise hors de la grace du roi et de monseigneur le Dauphin, qu'elle craignoit plus en ce cas que nul autre." (*Duclos.*)

[1] "Interrogé, sur le serment qu'il a fait, s'il n'a point parlé ou admonesté maître Jacques Despars, d'écrire les lettres qu'il a envoyées au Roi: Dit par le serment qu'il a fait, que non, et que oncques n'en ouït parler." (*Duclos.*)

where a more considerate and friendly feeling would have seen nothing more than a kindly impulse, or, at the worst, a pardonable indiscretion. An instance that fully bears this out occurred whilst the Court was at Châlons. At one of the jousts that had been provided for the entertainment of the King's distinguished guests, Margaret's interest was aroused by the exceptional prowess of one of the combatants. On enquiry as to who and what he was, she learnt that his means were not proportionate to his merits, and, with thoughtless generosity, she resolved to make some amends to him for the neglect with which a harsh fortune had treated him. Summoning one of her Maids, Annette de Guise, she instructed her to go to Marguerite de Hacqueville, who appears to have acted as her purse-bearer, and to get 400 crowns from her. Margaret's valet, Gervais, was to be asked for a further sum of 200 crowns; but, whilst he was able to supply what was required of him, Marguerite de Hacqueville could not produce the full amount her mistress had sent for. Madame de Tucé was therefore applied to, to make up the deficiency of 10 or 11 crowns which, however, she herself had to borrow. So far was the Dauphiness from wishing to conceal the object for which she had collected the money, that, when it was brought to her in a napkin, she asked the messenger who had gathered it whether she did not think it a sufficiently handsome gift to make to a gentleman, to which Annette, with courtly acquiescence, replied that she did. Beyond this the young Maid knew nothing,

except that her mistress, carrying the 600 crowns in the napkin, had gone to Prégente and had remained in earnest conversation with her for some length of time.[1]

[1] "Annete de Guise . . . dict et depose, par le serment qu'elle a faict, que sur les choses dessusdictes et qui luy ont esté recitées elle scait ce qui s'ensuit. C'est à sçavoir que en venant dernièrement de la ville de Chaalons et elle estant au chemin d'entre Marigny et cette ville, samedy derrenier passé, un peu davant disner, Messire Regnault de Dernezay vint à elle deposante qui estoit à cheval et luy demanda où estoit l'argent qu'elle gardoit à feue Madame la Daulphine, et elle qui parle respondit qu'elle l'avoit rendu à icelle dame, et après luy demanda si elle sçavoit que madicte dame en avoit faict, laquelle luy respondit qu'elle pensoit que icelle dame l'eust baillé à Prigente pour ce que tantost qu'elle l'eut receu elle appella icelle Prigente et parla à elle longuement sans ce qu'il y eust autres qu'elles deux. Interroguée sy elle scet dont ledict argent estoit venu à ladicte dame et qui l'avoit baillé à elle qui parle et aussi quelle somme il y avoit; dict que au temps que les joustes se firent à Chaalons derrenièrement, madicte dame ordonna à elle qui parle qu'elle demandast à Marguerite de Hacqueville la somme de quatre cens escus, et aussi qu'elle prist d'un nommé Gervaise, son varlet de chambre, deux cens escus, pour quoy elle qui parle alla devers ladicte Marguerite luy demander ladicte somme. Laquelle luy bailla quatre cens escus, onze ou douze moins; et par avant ledict Gervaise luy bailla à Serry lesdicts deux cens escus, mais elle ne sçait dont ledict argent estoit venu ne qui l'avoit baillé aux dessus nommez. Dict oultre que quatre ou cinq jours après ou environ, Monseigneur le Daulphin alla en la ville de Chaalons où il demoura par deux ou trois jours tant à la chasse hors Chaalons comme audict lieu de Chaalons; au quel temps mondict seigneur manda madicte dame venir devers luy audict Chaalons, et pendant ce temps que madicte dame fut audict lieu de Chaalons, elle estoit au logis de mondict seigneur le Daulphin, manda à elle qui parle qu'elle luy allast querir ladicte somme de six cens escus, ce qu'elle fit et les apporta à ladicte dame enveloppez en un drappeau, laquelle les prist en sa main et s'en alla seoir auprez Prigente, et croit qu'elle les luy bailla, pour ce que nul aultre que elles deux n'y avoit, et aussi luy semble mieux que autrement qu'elle les luy bailla, et se recorde bien elle qui parle que en baillant ladicte somme à ladicte dame, icelle dame luy dist ces mots ou semblables en substance: 'Vous semble il point que ce soit assés beau don pour donner à un homme de bien?' Et elle qui parle respondy: 'Madame, oyl.' Aussi dict qu'elle est bien souvenant que lors que elle bailla ladicte somme, pour ce que d'icelle il failloit onze ou douze escus comme dict est, la dame de Sainct Michel apporta à madicte dame de l'argent et luy dict: 'Madame, veez cy les dix ou douze escus que vous m'avez chargé d'emprunter'; lesquels elle prist en sa main et les mist avec ladicte somme. Interroguée sy elle sçait que ladicte somme est devenue et si elle l'a

There was in all this sufficient to arouse curiosity, but not enough to satisfy it; and to find out who the fortunate gentleman was for whom the handsome present of the Dauphiness was intended was a problem which her attendants became anxious to solve. In spite of his position, for which discretion was assuredly one of the essential qualifications, her Master of the Household, Regnault de Dresnay, appears to have displayed more inquisitiveness and suspicion than any of her Maids. He took it on himself not only to examine Annette de Guise as to what she knew, but also to question her as to whom she suspected the recipient of the gift to be. And when the young Maid hesitated to tell him, he himself, in a whisper loud enough to be overheard by Annette's sister, Jeanne, mentioned the name of Charles Morillon, and Annette admitted

donnée ne à qui, dict que riens n'en scet et depuis n'en oït parler jusques à ce que ledict Messire Regnault luy en parla. Bien est souvenant que quand ledict Messire Regnault vint à elle sur les champs pour luy en parler comme dict est, iceluy Messire Regnault pareillement luy demanda sy elle sçavoit que ladicte somme estoit devenue et à qui madicte dame l'avoit baillée, et elle qui parle respondy que non, et ledict Messire Regnault dict: 'Je me doubte que ce n'ait esté pour luy.'—"Jehanne de Guise . . . sçait et se recorde bien que en venant en cette ville samedy derrenier, un pou davant disner, elle estant sur les champs, ledict Messire Regnault s'addressa à sa sœur qui chevauchoit davant elle et parla à elle longuement et entre autres choses ouyt que ledict Messire Regnault parloit d'argent que Madame avoit baillé à sadicte sœur et luy demandoit qu'elle en avoit faict et si elle sçavoit qu'il estoit devenu; et elle luy respondit qu'elle l'avoit baillé à madicte dame laquelle l'avoit baillé à Prigente; et lors ledict Messire Regnault luy demanda tout bas: 'Par vostre foy, pensez vous point qu'il est?' Et elle luy respondy: 'Je le me pense bien.' 'Aussi fais je,' dict ledict Messire Regnault, et elle dict: 'Or le dictes doncques'; et il luy dist: 'Mais vous,' et il luy nomma tout bas Charles Morillon. 'Je le me pensoye bien.' Et depuis ledict Messire Regnault dist qu'il diroit à Monseigneur le Seneschal que ladicte somme estoit allée entre les mains de ladicte Prigente, et depuis n'oït parler de ladicte matière." (MS. *ut supra.*)

that it was he whom she also had in mind. No further materials were required for the fabrication of a choice piece of scandal; and Jamet de Tillay, whom it would be surprising not to find associated with the slanderous story, and who entertained a special spite against Prégente de Melun, by reason of the position which she held as Margaret's confidante, rounded it off by insinuating that she played the part of a go-between, hypocritically expressing his regret that she should have so much to do with the affairs of her Mistress, and his fear lest harm should come of it.[1]

It is not unlikely that the King was made aware of the malicious gossip, and that his annoyance caused considerable uneasiness to those who had helped to propagate the scandal. Such seems to be the most plausible explanation of a remark which was made by the Dauphiness in a conversation with Jeanne de Tucé, and which was to the effect that de Tillay felt that his position was becoming precarious. And it is not unreasonable to assume that fear of consequences suggested the appeal made to her by the Bailiff, through several of her Maids of Honour, to be allowed an opportunity of denying the charge of slander made against him. But Margaret had suffered too much at his hands to feel readily disposed to forgiveness. She did not actually

[1] "Noble homme Loys de Laval, Seigneur de Chastillon, . . . a bien mémoire que ledict Jamet luy dist de Prigente les paroles qui s'ensuyvent: 'Je vouldroye bien que Prigente ne se melast pas tant des besongnes de Madame comme elle faict, et pour son bien, de doubte qu'il ne luy en viengne mal.'" (MS. *ut supra.*)

refuse to give him a hearing if he came to her, but she made it very plain that nothing he could say would persuade her of his innocence; and he saw the wisdom of not pressing his case.[1] But he did not forget the rebuff, and the insinuations which he conveyed and the reports which he originated in connection with the Dauphiness became thenceforth still more unscrupulous and more malevolent.

There is a recorded instance of the perverse ingenuity with which the villainous mischief-maker could achieve his spiteful purpose by means of a specious half-truth. About the end of July, 1445, the King, having dispatched the political business that had brought him to Châlons, began to think of making arrangements for his departure. Happening to mention the subject to de Tillay, he casually added that, by reason of the scant accommodation available, he thought it might be necessary for him, the Queen, and the Dauphiness to travel by different routes for at least a part of the journey, and until they reached a town of sufficient importance to afford its hospitality to all three of them together. With such vague information as these words conveyed, Jamet betook himself to the Queen, and told her,

[1] "Madite dame appella elle qui parle (Jeanne de Tucé, dame de Saint-Michel), et lui dit telles paroles ou semblables: 'Venez ça, dame de Saint-Michel, vous ne savez pas de ce vaillant homme Jamet? Il sent bien que son fait branle.' Adoncques elle qui parle lui demanda pourquoi elle le disoit; lors madite dame lui répondit: 'Il a fait parler à moi afin de s'excuser devers moi.' Et elle qui parle lui dit qu'elle le devoit ouïr pour voir quelle excusation il voudroit dire; et adoncques madite dame lui dit: 'Je l'ouïrai volontiers, mais je sçai bien qu'il a dit les paroles', sans déclarer quelles paroles c'étoient." (*Duclos.*)

without giving her further particulars, that the King intended to go a great distance by daily stages of from ten to twelve leagues.[1] He suggested, in such a way as to make it appear he was communicating instructions proceeding from Charles himself, that, by reason of the condition in which she was then supposed to be, it would be well for her to journey by another road, and at the less fatiguing rate of three to four leagues a day. The Queen thereupon enquired whether it were not the King's intention to set out on the following Wednesday, and was told that such was not the case, but that he would wait, so at least her informant professed to think, until such time as she had taken her departure. This led to a further question as to whether she was to travel alone or whether her daughter-in-law was to accompany her. The conversation had thus come round to the subject which de Tillay had from the first

[1] Jamet de Tillay's version of the incident is as follows: "Interrogué s'il a point parlé à la Roine du chemin que le Roy devoit faire au partir de Chaalons; dict que à un certain jour, lequel autrement ne sçauroit declarer, le Roy luy dist qu'il avoit assez longuement demouré là, et ainsi qu'ils parloient du chemin, le Roy luy dist qu'il se doubtoit que pour les petits logis il ne fallust qu'ils se missent en trois parts, luy en un, la Roine en un aultre, et madicte dame en un aultre, jusques à ce qu'ils feussent en un bon logis; et depuis, il qui parle, par aucun temps après, s'en ala en la chambre de la Roine, laquelle luy demanda s'il estoit nouvelles du partement, et il luy dist que le Roy s'en debattoit et qu'il s'en vouloit aller, et qu'il estoit besoing que on y advisast, et que ses affaires de là environ estoient fort accomplies, et que la saison s'approuchoit; et elle demanda: 'Scet on que je doy faire?' Et lors il qui parle luy respondit que on ne sçavoit encores, mais qu'il pensoit que pour doubte des mauvais logis le Roy iroit un chemin, elle un aultre, et madicte dame un aultre, mais oncques ne luy dist qu'elle deust partir plustost que madicte dame ne plus tard, mais bien luy dict la Roine qu'elle voudroit bien partir, car elle ne pourroit pas faire grandes journées et qu'il luy souffisoit bien de faire quatre ou six lieues par jour." (MS. *ut supra*.)

intended it should reach. In his reply, he pointed out that the Dauphiness would have a large company with her, and that, in consequence, the two royal ladies could not be accommodated together, and he further gave it as his opinion that it was meant they should set out separately. On the part of the Queen there was no outburst, no protest such as he probably expected. She acquiesced with a submissiveness or an indifference that gives indication of the state of mind to which her husband's treatment of her had reduced her. She said that, if it were the King's pleasure that she should start first, she was satisfied, and would willingly do so. The Bailiff not only gave his full approval to this ready compliance, but also volunteered the advice that the Queen should request her husband's leave to set out at once on her solitary journey.

On former occasions, when the Court removed from one residence to another, it had been usual for the Queen and the Dauphiness, with their respective retinues, to form a single party. And there was a special reason for such an arrangement, in addition to those that naturally suggest themselves. Margaret did not possess a number of coaches sufficient for the conveyance of all her ladies, and some of them were consequently taken over by the Queen, who found room for them amongst her own attendants. Marie of Anjou remembered this circumstance, and sent for Jean de La Haye, her Master of the Household, to discuss the matter with him, and to devise some means for meeting the new difficulty that now pre-

sented itself. On learning what had passed between her and the Bailiff, de La Haye refused to believe that the King had given such instructions as Jamet had conveyed to her, and emphatically declared his conviction that such a course as they suggested was altogether inconceivable. And a little later, when Nicole Chambre, another member of the royal household, was spoken to on the subject by the bewildered Queen, she got from him also a similar expression of opinion.[1]

[1] The Queen's account of the incident forms the subject of the deposition which she made to Guillaume Juvenel, Chancellor of France, and Guillaume Cousinot, Councillor and Master of Requests: "La reine, notre souveraine dame . . . dit et dépose qu'un jour de samedi, comme lui semble, dont on disoit communément que le mercredi ensuivant le Roi devoit partir dudit lieu, autrement du temps n'est recors, ledit Jamet vint devers elle audit lieu de Sarry, et lui dit que le Roi avoit intention de tirer un grand chemin, autrement ne le sçait nommer, et qu'il feroit dix ou douze lieues par jour, et que ce seroit bien fait, attendu qu'elle étoit grosse, ainsi que pour l'heure on disoit qu'elle étoit, qu'elle prît un autre chemin à part à soi, trois ou quatre lieues par jour. Et lors elle lui demanda si le roi partiroit pas le mercredi ensuivant, et il lui dit que non, et qu'il pensoit qu'il ne partiroit jusqu'à ce qu'elle fût partie; et adoncques elle lui va demander si elle s'en iroit toute seule, ou si madame la Dauphine s'en viendroit avec elle, lequel lui répondit que madite dame auroit grande compagnie, et qu'elles ne pourroient pas bien loger ensemble, et qu'il pensoit qu'elle ne s'en iroit pas avec elle. Lors elle qui parle va dire, puisque c'étoit le plaisir du roi qu'elle s'en allât devant, qu'elle en étoit contente, et qu'elle le feroit volontiers; et il lui dit que ce seroit bien fait, et qu'aussi on s'en passeroit bien, et qu'il lui conseilloit qu'elle demandât son congé. Et tantôt, après que ledit Jamet fut parti, elle qui parle envoya quérir Jehan de la Haye, son maître d'hôtel, auquel elle va dire que ledit Jamet lui avoit dit que le plaisir du roi étoit qu'elle s'en allât devant et non pas avec lui, et que madite dame la Dauphine demeureroit derrière, et ne s'en iroit pas avec elle, et pour ce qu'il avisât, comme aucunes des femmes de madite dame la Dauphine, qui avoient accoutumé à venir dedans ses chariots, pour ce que madite dame la Dauphine n'avoit pas assez de chariots pour mener toutes ses femmes, s'en viendroient; car puisqu'elles n'alloient pas ensemble, il falloit qu'on y pourvût; lequel Jehan de La Haye va adoncques dire à elle qui dépose, qu'il ne croyoit pas ce que ledit Jamet lui avoit dit fût vérité, ne que le roi le fît jamais. Et ne demeura guère après que Nicole Chambre vint devers elle, auquel elle dit

In the shape in which the incident provoked by de Tillay's interference soon became the subject of Court gossip, it had undergone a further transformation. According to the rumour that was commented upon with a surprise that did not imply approval, it was the King's intention that the Queen should take one road whilst he went by another; that she should have her quarters by herself in one castle, and that the Dauphiness should put up where the King was. By attributing an illness from which the Queen suffered at this time, but which had a wholly different cause, to her resentment at the indignity which she thought was to be put upon her, the courtiers gave the clearest indication that Jamet's mischievous and impudent fabrication had not been without success.[1] He had worked to bring about an estrangement between the two royal ladies; and there seemed but too good reason to believe that he had not plotted in vain.

toutes les paroles dessusdites, que ledit Jamet lui avoit dites touchant le fait de son partement, lequel Nicole lui dit qu'il n'en étoit rien, et que jamais le roi ne le feroit; et autre chose n'en sçait, ainsi qu'elle dit." (*Duclos.*)

[1] "Au regard de la maladie qu'elle avoit eue audit lieu de Chaalons, elle lui advint pour la déplaisance et le travail qu'elle eut à cause de la maladie et mort de madite dame la Dauphine; et à cette occasion elle eut le flux de ventre, et se vuida très fort, et non point à cause des paroles que ledit Jamet lui avoit dites." (*Duclos.*)

X

The Death of the Dauphiness

On Saturday, the 7th of August, 1445, King Charles, in view of his approaching departure, performed a pilgrimage to the church and shrine of Notre-Dame de l'Épine. The Dauphiness accompanied him. The distance from Châlons was not great; but it was a hot summer's day, and Margaret was not of a robust constitution. She returned to Sarry tired and overheated; and in spite of the profuse perspiration which the unwonted exercise had induced, she imprudently took off some of her upper garments, and remained a long time seated in a very cold room on the ground floor of the episcopal palace.[1] The result of her carelessness was a chill, which developed into a severe cold and cough, and which from the very first showed such serious symptoms, that the patient was removed to Châlons, to a lodging in the cloister of the cathedral church of

[1] "Honorable homme et saige Maistre Guillaume Lotier, médecin de Monseigneur le Dauphin de Viennois . . . dict aussi, sur ce requis, qu'il luy semble que le commencement qui a promeu et commencé ladicte maladie de venir fut un voyage qu'elle fit à Nostre Dame de l'Espine, pour ce qu'il faisoit grand chault, toute suant se despouilla, comme dient les femmes de son hostel, et en sa cotte se tint en une chambre basse bien froide; tellement que le landemain elle se trouva très mal, bien airumée et entoussée, ne onques depuis elle n'eust un jour de santé." (MS. *ut supra.*)

St. Stephen; and that, in order to ensure that she should be as little disturbed as possible, all the bells in the town were ordered to cease ringing as long as her illness lasted.[1]

It is obvious from the available evidence that, amongst those that came under the influence of the Dauphin, there was a set purpose to make as little as possible of the immediate cause of Margaret's illness, and to represent her as paying the penalty of her voluntary overwork. Such, indeed, was the distinct pronouncement of his own doctor, the "honourable and wise Master William Lotier", as set forth in his remarkable diagnosis of the case. It seemed to him, he said, that his patient's illness was principally due to her excessive vigils, through which her blood and the humours of her body had become corrupt and her brain had been weakened. As nature always sends the superfluities and corrupt humours to the weakest part of the body and to that which it finds most breached already, therefore in her brain was bred a rheum, which was the cause of the breeding of an abscess in her said brain. And perhaps, from her said brain, a part of those corrupt humours might have fallen on her lungs, by means of a guttering, and this had been the cause of the ulcerating of her said lungs.[2]

[1] "Durant la maladie de madicte dame la dalphine on fit cesser le sonner à toutes les églises de Chaalons par l'espace devant VIII jours." (*Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. i, p. 200.)

[2] "Requis s'il sçait ou a veu ou apperceu par experience ou autrement, en visitant ladicte dame en sa maladie, dont luy est procédé la maladie de laquelle la mort s'en est ensuivye. Dict qu'il n'a veu ou apperceu ou scet autre chose

For the purpose of disseminating the official view there could be no more fitting agent than Jamet de Tillay. He understood what was wanted of him, and why it was wanted, and readily undertook to do it. He himself has reported how cunningly and with what a show of concern he contrived to bring the matter to the knowledge of the King. One evening Charles, accompanied by Jamet and by the treasurer, Jean Bureau, was strolling, as was his custom after supper, in the meadows of Jars-lez-Châlons. In the course of conversation Jamet insinuated the remark that much misfortune had overtaken the country of late, and that, indeed, within a short time, there had been more melancholy happenings in it than he had ever known anywhere before. Encouraged by the assent which the King gave to this statement, the artful speaker, referring to a recent Court quarrel of more than usual gravity, went on to say that they had lately had "all those lords at loggerheads", and that now, "to lose this lady would be the greatest loss that could happen to them". At this Charles enquired bluntly whether the Dauphiness were pregnant, and was informed that the doctors said she was not. To his further

fors que il luy semble que ladicte maladie principalement luy est venue pour ce que ladicte dame veilloit trop, par quoy se corrompoit son sang et les humeurs de son corps, son cervel s'en affoiblissoit, et nature envoye tousjours au plus foible du corps, et iceluy qu'elle trouve plus brecié, les superfluitez ou humeurs corrompues, dont en son cervel s'est engendré ung rume, lequel a esté cause de engendrer un appostume en sondict cervel, et peult estre que de sondict cervel peult estre tombé par manière de une goutière partye de ces humeurs corrompues sur les partyes de son poulmon, qui a esté cause de ulcerer sondict poumon, comme a esté trouvé par effect." (MS. *ut supra*.)

query as to the cause of her illness, Jamet, availing himself of the opportunity for which he had been on the alert and which he had cunningly contrived, replied that, according to the doctors, it came from want of rest. And then the old complaint against the Dauphiness was rehearsed: "She spent too many wakeful nights; it occasionally happened that she did not retire to rest till near sunrise; at times my lord the Dauphin had dozed and awakened, and dozed off again more than once, before she came to bed; and she was sometimes so assiduous at making rondeaux that she produced as many as twelve in one day." That devotion to poetry should have such ill effects seemed to come as a surprise to the King, for he very artlessly enquired whether it gave a headache. It was Bureau who supplied him with information on this point, saying that it did, to anyone who was inordinately addicted to it, but that otherwise it was a mere distraction.[1]

What de Tillay dared not insinuate to the King he had no compunction in asserting to others. In the course of a conversation on the subject of Margaret's illness, he told Marie de l'Espine, one of the Queen's waiting-women, that the Dauphiness

[1] "Et cedict jour après soupper, le Roy estant au Pré du Jars lez Chaalons, dist il qui parle (de Tillay) au roy, après plusieurs paroles, que c'estoit grand maleurté de ce pays et que en peu de temps y estoit plus venu de merencolye que en pays où il fut oncques. Et le Roy luy respondy qu'il disoit vérité, et il qui parle en continuant ses paroles dist: 'Nous avons eu tous ces seigneurs en brouilliz, et maintenant perdre cette dame! Ce seroit la plus grand perte qui nous peust advenir'; et lors le Roy luy demanda si elle estoit impedumée. Et il qui parle respondit que non comme disoient les medecins." (MS. *ut supra.*) For the remainder of the conversation, see Chapter VIII, p. 122, note 2.

was love-sick. On another occasion, as he was riding behind Nicole Chambre, discussing what had become the sole absorbing topic, his companion, wishing to learn the truth from one who, as he knew, had exceptional opportunities for obtaining information, boldly asked him what the matter could be with the Dauphiness. And, as it had become known that her illness was aggravated by alternating fits of despondency and outbursts of indignation, he suggested that she must have "something on her heart". That such was the case her traducer had good reason to know, and better reason still for not wishing to enlighten Chambre. He contented himself with admitting that "she certainly had". On being further pressed to say what it was, he crowned his infamy with the foul slander, "Ce sont amours". When subsequently taxed, on two different occasions, with having used these words, de Tillay's habitual coolness and effrontery appear to have forsaken him. He could only pretend that he had no recollection of having uttered them; and on being confronted with Chambre, he allowed his silence to proclaim his guilt.[1]

[1] "Interrogé s'il dit point à Marie de l'Espine durant la maladie, que ladite feue dame fût malade d'amour, Dit que de ce oncques ne parla à ladite Marie." (Duclos, *ut supra.*)—"Interrogé s'il dit point audit Nicole Chambre, que ladite dame fût malade seulement d'amour, Dit par son serment que de ce il n'est pas de présent recors, et que si ledit Nicole et lui étoient l'un devant l'autre, en recitant les paroles qu'ils disoient lors, il pourroit être averti de ce qu'il dit audit Nicole." (*Ibid.*)—"Et depuis, le vingt-sixième jour ensuivant, comparurent par devant nous ledict Jamet et Nicole Chambre, et quant ils furent confrontez, ledict Nicole dict que après plusieurs paroles que eurent ensemble, ledict Jamet et luy, de la maladie de Madame la Daulphine et de ses veilleryes

It cannot but appear an extraordinary circumstance that, in the detailed accounts which have come down to us of the illness of the Dauphiness, there is no mention of her having been visited by either the King, the Queen, or the Dauphin. Indeed, in so far as negative evidence justifies conviction, no room is left for doubt that none of them entered her sick-room. In the case of Louis the omission of so elementary and natural a duty might be attributed to his characteristic callousness intensified by his aversion for his wife. But, as regards Charles and his consort, such an explanation is impossible. Their constant affection for their daughter-in-law, and their unvarying kindness towards her constitute the one bright feature in the tragedy of her young life; and their apparent neglect must have had a cogent reason. We may assume that it lay in the patient's need of absolute freedom from excitements, if we can reconcile this view with the presence about her not only of numerous attendants, but also of others who can hardly be supposed to have had any function to fulfil in a sick-room. There may, however, have been some Court etiquette, based on the general, and in many cases only too well-founded, fear of infection, which forbade the King and Queen and the heir to the throne

qu'elle faisoit, ledict Nicole demanda: 'Que peut elle avoir? Elle a quelque chose sur le cœur,' et ledict Jamet luy respondy que s'avoit mon. Et iceluy Nicole luy demanda que c'estoit, et iceluy Jamet luy respondit: 'Ce sont amours'." (MS. *ut supra*.) It is not reported that Jamet made any reply. In reproducing this passage, Duclos has changed "Que s'avoit mon" = "Qu'elle avait vraiment quelquechose sur le cœur", into "Que sçait on?" which, in the circumstances, is quite meaningless.

to approach the sick-bed of even a member of their family.

Although it would be an exaggeration to represent Margaret as dying of a broken heart, there can be no question that the persecution to which Jamet de Tillay had subjected her preyed upon her mind, sapped a constitution that had never been robust, and, by depriving her of even the wish to live, made her fall an easier victim to the pneumonia which she had contracted by her imprudence. On that point the testimony of those who were with her at various times during her illness is overwhelming in its unanimity. In the early days, and before her trouble had reached its most acute form, her Lady-in-Waiting, Madame de Tucé, noticed how silent and pensive she lay in her bed. In the motherly tone which her years justified, she asked her what ailed her and why she did not make better cheer, and told her, with gentle rebuke, that she had no cause to give way to melancholy. But Margaret replied that indeed she had good cause to be melancholy and to fret by reason of the words that had been falsely and wrongfully spoken of her. With growing excitement she invoked damnation on her soul if ever she had done that of which she had been accused, or even given it as much as a thought. No name had as yet been mentioned, but, a day or two later, Madame de Tucé happened to be in the room, when the patient, apparently unconscious of those about her, exclaimed with that bitter irony with which the thought of her persecutor at times inspired her: "Ah, Jamet! Jamet!

you have worked your will; if I die it is through you and through the fair words which you have spoken of me, without cause and without reason!" Raising her hands and beating her breast, she added in a paroxysm of indignation: "I swear by God, and by my soul, and by the baptism which I received at the font, that I have never done my lord a disservice or a wrong." And it seemed to the hearer that the sick woman uttered those words with a great wrath in her heart. Pierre de Brezé, Seneschal of Poitou, who was also in the room at the time, could not bear the touching scene, but went out exclaiming that the grief and the wrath which were torturing the poor lady were too pitiful.[1] Two of Margaret's Maids,

[1] "Et environ deux ou trois jours après que madite dame fut malade, comme il lui semble, madite dame étant sur une couche toute pensive, et elle qui parle lui demanda ce qu'elle avoit, et pourquoi elle ne faisoit pas meilleure chiere, et qu'elle ne se devoit pas ainsi merencolier, et madite dame lui répondit qu'elle se devoit bien merencolier et donner mal pour les paroles qu'on avoit dites d'elles, qui étoient à tort et sans cause, et prenoit sur le damnement de son âme que oncques elle n'avoit fait le cas qu'on lui mettait sus, non pas seulement l'avoir pensé. Interrogée, elle qui parle, si à cette heure madite dame nomma aucuns qui eussent dit les paroles, Dit que non, et de cette heure, elle qui parle n'ouït parler de cette matière à madite dame jusqu'au mercredi avant son trépas, que madite dame étant sur sa petite couche, dit telles paroles ou semblables: 'Ah Jamet! Jamet! vous êtes venu à votre intention; si je meurs, c'est pour vous et vos bonnes paroles que vous avez dites de moi sans cause ne sans raison.' Et adoncques madite dame leva le bras, et férant de sa main à sa poitrine, et disant ces paroles: 'Et je prens sur Dieu et sur mon âme, et sur le baptême que j'apportai des fonts, ou je puisse mourir, que je ne l'ai déservi oncques, ne ne tins tort à monseigneur.' Et semble à elle qui parle, qu'elle le disoit de grand courroux qu'elle avoit au cœur, et étoit présent monsieur le sénéchal de Poitou, quand madite dame disoit lesdites paroles, lequel se partit de la chambre bien marri et dolent, en disant telles paroles: 'C'est grand pitié de la douleur et courroux que souffre cette dame.' Et de ce jour jusques au lundi ensuivant que madite dame trépassa, ne lui ouït plus parler de cette matière; bien se recorde que ce dit lundi, un peu avant vêpres, madite dame s'écria en disant: 'Et je prens sur mon âme, ou je puisse mourir, que je ne tins oncques tort à

Marguerite de Hacqueville and Marguerite de Vaux, who were in attendance in the sick-room, testified to the truth of Madame de Tucé's account of the painful incident.[1]

On the sixth day of Margaret's illness, it was Friday the 13th of August, in the early morning, before the King had gone to Mass, his physician, Master Robert Poictevin, who as a priest was the sick woman's confessor as well, came to the royal apartments, accompanied by Regnault de Dresnay. They had hurried over from St. Stephen's cloister, as the bearers of good news which they communicated as soon as the room had been cleared of all who were in attendance, with the exception of Jamet de Tillay. Poictevin reported that nature was asserting herself, and that there were favourable symptoms that pointed to a speedy recovery. His announcement, it is true,

monseigneur.' Interrogée si elle ouït point à cette heure qu'elle nommât Jamet, Dit que non; bien ouït que mondit sieur le sénéchal, lequel étoit illec quand madite dame s'écria, dit: 'Ah! faux et mauvais ribault, elle meurt par toi,' sans que à cette heure elle ouït oncques nommer ledit Jamet; mais peu après, elle qui parle, ouït bien dire à mondit sieur le sénéchal que, quand madite dame avoit fait cedit cri, elle avoit nommé ledit Jamet; mais elle qui parle ne l'entendit pas, comme dessus a dit." (*Duclos.*)

[1] "Le mercredi avant que madite dame trépassât, elle qui parle (Marguerite de Hacqueville) étant avec madite dame dans sa chambre, ouït que madite dame dit telles paroles: 'Or est il venu à son intention!' Et disoient aucunes de celles qui étoient illec, qu'elle avoit nommé Jamet, en disant lesdites paroles; mais n'est pas recors, elle qui parle, de l'avoir ouï."—"Deux ou trois jours avant sa mort, comme il semble à elle qui parle (Marguerite de Vaux), madite dame étant sur son lit, sans ce qu'on lui parlât d'aucune chose, et elle qui parle étant auprès d'elle, dit ces paroles: 'Ah! ah! Jamet, vous êtes venu à votre intention'; après lesquelles paroles madite dame prit sur le damnement de son âme, qu'il n'étoit rien de tout ce que l'on lui avoit mis sus, ne oncques ne le fit ne ne pensa. Et semble, à elle qui parle, que madite dame disoit de grand courroux, dolente et courroucée, lesdites paroles." (*Duclos.*)

was qualified by the addition that "riens n'y prouffitoit", which seems to have meant that the patient herself was doing nothing to help nature in the struggle with disease. But even in spite of this the messengers gave it as their opinion that it would be well to send off my lord the Dauphin, and that, similarly, the King and Queen might make preparation for the journey which their daughter-in-law's sudden illness had delayed. When the King expressed his surprise at such rapid improvement in the condition of the Dauphiness, Master Robert assured him that he entertained great hopes of her, and that he thought she would be out of danger by the following Monday or Tuesday.[1]

The next day was to prove that the sanguine hopes entertained by the reverend physician had been premature, and that the rally which had seemed to him to justify them was but a last flicker of life. On the Saturday Jamet was sent by the King to get further news of the Dauphiness. As he entered the courtyard of the cloister he met Guillaume Lotier, who had just come down from the sick-room and was on his way to the kitchen to get some food for his patient. The doctor was anxious and worried at her sudden

[1] "Et le vendredy au matin à Chaalons, avant que le Roy allast à sa messe, maistre Robert Poictevin et maistre Regnault vindrent devers le Roy qui fit vuider tous hors de sa chambre, fors il qui parle; lesquels firent le rapport de madicte dame en disant que nature s'aydoit et monstroit tout bon signe de garison, mais riens n'y prouffitoit, et qu'il leur sembloit qu'il estoit bon de faire partir Monseigneur le Daulphin et pareillement que luy et la Roine advisassent à leur partement. Et le Roy après leur demanda si la chose estoit si hastive, et ledict maistre Robert respondit qu'il seroit avant le lundy ou le mardy que on vist la fin, et avoit bonne esperance." (MS. *ut supra*.)

relapse. To the Bailiff's enquiries he curtly replied that she was in a bad way, and that there was greater likelihood of her death than of her recovery. And he bluntly protested against being so pestered with questions.[1] The news of Margaret's desperate condition soon spread through both the royal households. Two conversations which occurred that day, and of which there is a record, indicate a suggestive contrast in the sentiments which it inspired. Monsieur de La Fayette, Master Jean Bureau, Monsieur de Charmy, and Jamet de Tillay, happening to meet in the Church of Notre-Dame, in Châlons, began, with an offensive lack of sympathy, to discuss the consequences that might be expected to ensue from Margaret's death. De Charmy remarked that, according to what he had heard, she was not fit to bear children; and that if she died it would be necessary to marry the Dauphin to a wife who was better suited to have offspring. This afforded de Tillay an opportunity, which he did not miss, of repeating the old scandal as to the alleged causes of Margaret's childlessness, and by implication to suggest that her death would not be a disaster. And the impropriety of

[1] "Dict oultre que le samedy avant le trespassement de madicte dame, ledict deposant (Guillaume Lotier) estant en l'hostel de ladicte dame, luy qui descendoit de la chambre de ladicte dame, en entrant en la court, ledict Jamet entra en ladicte court, et rencontra il deposant. Lequel Jamet luy demanda quelle chose faisoict madite dame et comment elle se portoit; et luy semble mieux que autrement, combien que proprement n'en est recors, pour ce que il estoit troublé de la maladie d'icelle dame, que ledict Jamet luy dist que le Roy l'envoyoit scavoir de l'estat d'icelle dame. Lequel deposant luy respondit qu'il luy sembloit qu'elle ne se portoit pas bien, et que on y espéroit mieux la mort que la vie; et luy dist encores que on luy rompoit la teste de tant de questions." (*Ibid.*)

retailing such indelicate gossip was aggravated by the fact that, though de La Fayette and Bureau were friends of the Dauphin, de Charmy was the Burgundian Ambassador, and consequently a stranger, whose presence should have imposed some discretion.[1] On the evening of that same Saturday Robert Poictevin and Pierre de Brezé sat at table together, and what it occurred to them to discuss was the scandalous action of de Tillay in telling the King "villainous things" with regard to his daughter-in-law.[2]

Throughout the whole of the Sunday there was no improvement in the condition of the Dauphiness. She lay but partly conscious, and her strength was slowly ebbing away. On the Monday evening, a little before the hour for Vespers, Madame de Tucé heard her mutter: "I take on my soul, and may I die if it be not true, that I have never done my lord any wrong." That was the one thought by which she was obsessed during her long agony. Pierre de Brezé, who was again in the room at the time, asserted that Jamet's name had been mentioned by the unfortunate woman as she spoke those words. And, goaded by the thought of all the suffering that the unscrupulous wretch had brought upon his victim, he uttered the indignant apostrophe: "Ah! false and spiteful ribald, it is through you she is dying!"[3]

[1] See Chap. IX, p. 136, note 2.

[2] "Et dist ledict deposant (venerable et discrette personne Maistre Robert Poictevin, medecin du Roy) qu'il est bien recors et souvenant que le samedy avant le trespas de ladicte dame, en disnant, il ouy dire à Mons[r] le Seneschal de Poictou que ce avoit esté mal faict audict Jamet de avoir dict au Roy villainie ou mauvaises paroles de ladicte dame." (MS. *ut supra.*)

[3] See *ante*, pp. 157–8, note.

About seven o'clock in the evening, when Robert Poictevin was at the bedside of the penitent whom he had been called in to shrive, Marguerite de Salignac, one of the Maids of Honour, came into the room. Perceiving the great weakness of her mistress, and realizing that the end was very near, she enquired whether the dying woman had forgiven everybody, especially Jamet de Tillay, and added excitedly: "For God's sake, get her to pardon him!" Not without showing some resentment at what he considered an ill-timed interference, the priest told her that she had come too late, that the Dauphiness had forgiven everybody, that it did not seem to him she bore de Tillay any special grudge, and that he did not intend to trouble her further on the subject. He bethought himself, however, that it would not be out of place to address some words of admonition to his penitent, and asked: "Madam, are you mindful of God?" And she murmured: "Yes, Master Robert." "Madam, do not forget Him," exhorted the confessor, and again there came a feeble reply: "No, I will not forget Him." Encouraged by this meek acquiescence, and in spite of what he had said to Marguerite de Salignac, the priest then ventured to put the question to which so much importance was attached: "You have forgiven everybody, have you not?" But, at this reminder of whom she was asked to forgive, and what she had to forgive him, Margaret's spirit rose in revolt within her. In a voice to which the bitterness of her resentment lent a momentary energy, she exclaimed:

"Indeed I have not." "Saving your reverence," protested Poictevin, "you have forgiven him, as it is your duty to do." Even he did not dare to utter the odious name. But the dying woman understood him, and thrice repeated her denial. The priest was unwilling that his ministrations should end in an unseemly wrangle, and retired to the window to read the prayers for the dying by the fading light of day.[1]

The attendants who had witnessed this moving scene, actuated by intentions that may have been laudable but apparently unconscious of the cruelty of their importunities, now closed round their mistress's bed and vied with each other in their efforts to obtain from her the admission of forgiveness which she had refused to make to her confessor. According to Madame de Tucé's self-approving account, it was not until she had told her she must forgive everybody if she wished God to forgive her, and that she

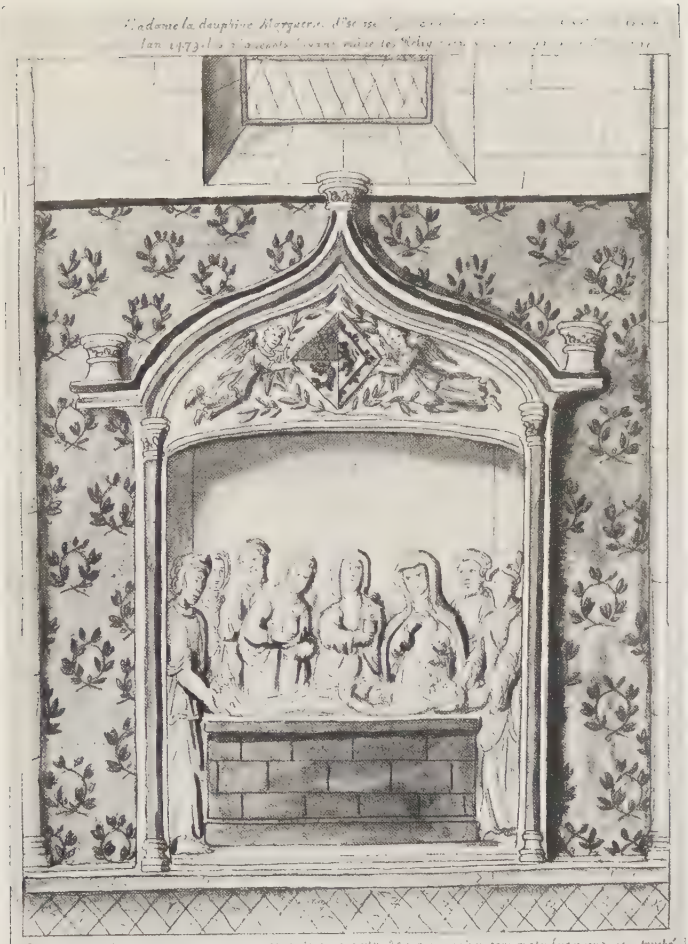
[1] "Venerable et discrette personne Maistre Robert Poictevin, medecin du Roy nostre Sire . . . depose et dict par son serment sur ce faict deuement, la main mise au piz comme prestre et en parole de prestre, qu'il est bien recors que environ trois heures avant le deceds et trespas de ladicte dame, une nommée Marguerite de Salignac dict à luy deposant qu'il admonestast ladicte dame à ce qu'elle pardonnast audict Jamet; lequel deposant respondit qu'il ne luy apperoit point qu'elle eust rancune à luy et qu'elle avoit pardonné à tout le monde et que point ne luy en parleroit. Toutesfois il se advisa que encore generalement il l'admonesteroit de sa conscience, et luy dist ces paroles: 'Madame, vous souvient il bien de Dieu?' Et elle respondy: 'Oy, maistre Robert'; et il luy dist: 'Madame, ne l'obliez pas,' et elle respondy: 'Nenny, je ne l'oblieray pas'; et après, il lui demanda: 'Madame, avez vous pas pardonné à tout le monde?' A quoy elle ne respondy riens. Et adonc luy qui parle se tira vers la fenestre pour lire aucunes oraisons. Interrogé pour quoy elle ne respondy aucune chose à ladicte derreniere demande, dict il qui parle que communement, comme on luy faisoit plusieurs interrogatoires, elle respondoit bien au premier et au second, mais aux autres communement elle se taisoit ou varioit." (MS. *ut supra*.)

must do so from her heart, that the Dauphiness, whether frightened at the threat of divine vengeance or longing to be left at rest, wearily murmured: "Well, then, I forgive him, and from my heart." But it is significant that none of those who were present could remember whether her persecutor's name had passed the lips of Margaret.[1]

After the trying ordeal through which she had gone, the dying Dauphiness had sunk back exhausted, and gradually fell into a state of merciful unconsciousness. Only twice again did the watchers about her death-bed hear her speak. Once Marguerite de Hacqueville caught her faint whisper, "Were it not for my pledged word, I might well repent ever having come to France."[2] A little later her last words, as sad and as pathetic as any recorded in history, reached the ears of Jean Boutet, the King's apothecary, whose duties required his

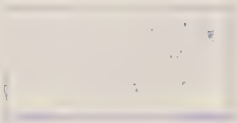
[1] Madame de Tucé's deposition contains the following account of the death-bed scene: "Et ce jour même, un peu avant que madite dame trépassât, Marguerite de Salignac entra en la chambre où était madite Dame, et dit icelle Marguerite tout haut: 'On dût faire que Madame pardonnât à Jamet'; et lors maître Robert Poitevin, lequel avait confessé madite dame, dit qu'elle l'avoit déjà fait, et qu'elle avoit pardonné à tout le monde; et adoncques madite dame répondit que non avoit; et ledit maître Robert lui dit: 'Sauve votre grâce, Madame, vous l'avez pardonné; aussi le devez vous faire.' Et par trois fois madite dame réitéra que non avoit, et jusques à ce qu'elle qui parle dit à madite dame qu'il falloit qu'elle pardonnât à tout le monde, ainsi qu'elle vouloit que Dieu lui pardonnât, et falloit qu'elle le fît de bon cœur; et adoncques madite dame dit: 'Je le pardonne donc et de bon cœur;' et n'est point recors, elle qui parle, que à cette heure madite dame nommât personne." (*Duclos.*) Madame de Tucé's deposition is, as regards this incident, borne out in every detail by that of Marguerite de Hacqueville.

[2] "Elle qui parle (Marguerite de Hacqueville) ouït que madite dame disoit que, se ne fût sa foi, qu'elle se repentiroit volontiers d'être venue en France." (*Duclos.*)



TOMBEAU *de Madame la Dauphine* MARGUERITE *d'*ESCOSSE
premiere femme du Roy Louis XI.^e *lors Dauphin.*

QUEEN MARGARET'S "TOMB"



presence close to the bedside: "Out upon the life of this world", sighed the dying Princess; "let me hear no more about it."[1] Between ten and eleven o'clock on that night of the 16th August, death closed the short but troubled life of Margaret Stuart, Princess of Scotland and Dauphiness of France. She was barely more than twenty-one years of age.

On Tuesday, the 17th of August, the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin left Châlons. Whatever may have been its true reason, this hurried departure of the royal family, within less than twenty-four hours after Margaret's death, and before the last honours had been rendered her, cannot in fairness be ascribed, at least in the case of Charles and his consort, to a heartless indifference on their part to the loss which they had sustained. It is recorded that the King departed suddenly "comme dolant, courroucé et troublé pour le trespassement de madicte dame la Dalfine".[2] And we have it on the authority of Marie of Anjou herself that her health was affected by "la déplaisance et le travail" which her daughter-in-law's illness and death had caused her.[3] Even the Dauphin, whatever his real sentiments

[1] "A la derrenière parole qu'il (Jean Boutet, appoticaire et varlet de chambre de Monseigneur le Dauphin de Viennois) oyt dire à madicte dame, elle dist ces mots en substance: 'Fy de la vie de ce monde! Ne m'en parlez plus,' et plus ne autre chose n'en oyt." (MS. *ut supra.*)

[2] "Et demoura le roy tant audict Chaalons comme à Sarrey jusques au mardi XVII[e] jour d'aoust ensuivant, et se party soudainement comme dolant, courroucé et troublé pour le trespassement de madicte dame la Dalfine, qui avait esté trespassée audict Chaalons le lundi precedent environ XI heures devant minuit, et fut enterrée à Saint Estène et fait son service et donnée à chascun povre de X deniers tournois." (*Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. i, p. 200.)

[3] See *ante*, Chap. IX, p. 149, note 1.

may have been, gave outward signs of overwhelming grief. The author of the compilation known as the *Chronique de Praillon*, on the authority of one of the ambassadors who had been sent from Metz, and to whom Louis gave audience whilst his wife lay on her death-bed, records how he played the part of the disconsolate husband, weeping and bitterly bewailing that God was taking from him "the thing which he loved best in the world".[1] The chronicle is a trustworthy one, and the fact may be accepted as authentic, but the treatment of the neglected wife throughout the whole of her married life denounces the hypocrisy of the words.

For thirty days the dean, chapter, vicars, chaplains, and choristers of the Cathedral Church of St. Stephen celebrated daily funeral services, after which, with imposing pomp and ceremony and amidst a great concourse of people, particularly of the poor, of whom the Princess had always been mindful, and to each of whom that was present on this solemn occasion ten pence were given, her remains were laid in a vault to the left of the altar and near the reliquary. The expenses of her funeral amounted to 660 livres. Prior to his departure the King, besides making the clergy a gift of 92 livres, settled

[1] "Et depues la mort d'icelle vaillant damme, fut dit et recordeir à Mets par le mehistre de la treniteit de Vitry en Partois, qui estoit à Chaalons le jour que icelle damme daulphine molrut, où il vit et oyt ledict daulphin qui pleuroit et durement se lamentoit en disant: 'Hé Dieu! quelx destinée m'a Dieu donneir! oncque en jour de ma vie je n'eu bien. . . . Et maintenant, Dieu me oste la chose au monde que plus je amoye!' Et ainsy se lamentoit ce noble et excellent prince pour la mort de sa noble et vertueuse compaigne. Dieu leur faice mercy." (*Relation du Siège de Metz*, pp. 291–2.)

a sum of 800 livres for the purpose of having requiem masses celebrated on each day of the first twelve months, and after that, on each recurring anniversary, for the repose of the soul of the departed Dauphiness, and, after his death, of his own.[1] If, as a contemporary chronicler avers, it was his intention to have the body transferred, "after a little while, and placed in Saint-Denis amongst all the kings and queens there",[2] he never carried it out.[3]

[1] These details are set forth in an extract from the obituary of the Cathedral of Châlons, published in the *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. iii, pp. 143–5.

[2] *Liber Pluscardensis*, p. 381.

[3] It is asserted by de Beaucourt (*Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. vi, p. 414), that Charles raised a monument over Margaret's grave. Were it so, it must have been before his death, in 1461, and therefore prior to the translation of the Dauphiness's remains, in 1479. But there is no evidence of the erection of a monument to her in the Church of St. Stephen, where she was first interred. The passage in Hennin, by which de Beaucourt has been misled, is as follows: "1444. Août 16. Tombeau de la Dauphine Marguerite d'Ecosse, première femme de Louis XI, alors Dauphin, avec une représentation de l'enterrement de Jesus-Christ, sans désignation du lieu où était ce monument. Dessin in-4. Recueil Gaignières, à Oxford, t. II. f 47." In H. Bouchot's *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour R. de Gaignières et conservés au département des estampes et des manuscrits* (*Bibliothèque nationale*), there is to be found an entry dealing with the same subject: "2019. Niche ouverte dans l'épaisseur d'un mur et surmonté d'un arc sur lequel sont peintes les armes des dauphins de France parti d'Ecosse. Dans la niche sont figurées les saintes femmes au tombeau du Christ. Tiré de Saint-Laon de Thouars. Calque. (Nota) L'ancien tombeau avait été ruiné par les huguenots; le nouveau tombeau est une reconstruction." (Vol. i, p. 227.) As may be gathered from these quotations, it has hitherto been assumed that the representation of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre formed a part of a monument erected to the Dauphiness after her interment in the Abbey of St.-Laon. A careful examination of all the circumstances of the case leads to the conclusion that it was, from the very first, intended to figure in her chapel, and was executed, not by order of Louis XI after the translation of his wife's remains, but prior to her death, in 1445, and in accordance with her own instructions. In support of this, it may be pointed out that whilst, on the one hand, the subject of the group is quite incongruous in connection with a monument to Margaret, on the other it is in perfect keeping with a scheme of decoration for a chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.

Margaret herself, in her last will and testament, had signified her wish to be interred in the abbey of Saint-Laon, at Thouars, for which she had a special affection.[1] It was there that, shortly before her death, she founded a chapellany in circumstances which extant documents enable us to trace, and which are sufficiently peculiar to deserve record. Owing to the pecuniary straits of which we have had evidence more than once already, she found that her means were not adequate to her pious intentions. She experienced no difficulty in obtaining from Eugenius IV the papal authorization necessary for her purpose. But the question of expenses was not so easily settled. They amounted to six hundred crowns of gold; and Abbot Nicholas Godard, however much he might approve of a scheme that would redound to the honour of his house, does not appear to have been disposed to carry it out without a fair prospect of reimbursement. He was so far accommodating, however, that, instead of the ready money which Margaret was not in a position to supply, he accepted a handsome and valuable *Book of Hours*—"horas quasdam speciosissimas"—if not, perhaps,

[1] Margaret is mentioned amongst the benefactors of the Abbey of St. Laon: "S. Launi Toarcensis abbatia . . . benefactores habuit Henricum Angliæ regem et Margaritam Scoticam Ludovici XI regis Francorum conjugem, quæ in ejusdem cœnobii basilica ad latus chorit quiescit." (*Gallia christiana*, vol. ii, col. 1344.) That she founded the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, and that her remains were laid in it by Abbot Nicholas, may still be read in the epitaph on the monument to that dignitary: "Hic jacet Nicolaus miseratione divina abbas hujus regalis monasterii, qui dum vixit, anno scilicet 1479, Margaritam, Jacobi regis filiam, Ludovici XI dum esset delphinus Viennensis, uxorem sepelivit in capella sepulcri domini nostri Jesu Christi a se ædificata." (*Ibid.*, col. 1345.)

as security for the debt, at least as an acknowledgment of it. The building of the chapel was then proceeded with; and, on the 24th of May, 1445, Abbot Nicholas issued letters patent in which he made known to the faithful that, at the request of the illustrious lady, the lady Margaret, Dauphiness of Viennois, Pope Eugenius IV had granted a plenary indulgence at the hour of death, to all who having, on the day after the festival of the Holy Trinity, visited the church, and the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, in the monastery of St. Laon, should confess their sins with a contrite heart, and contribute the salary of one workman for one day, towards the completion and repair of the church and chapel.[1]

The death of the Dauphiness occurred within three months after the inauguration of her chapellany; and Abbot Nicholas was left to cope with a problem of which the solution closely affected the material interests of his house. He had to find someone who was willing to recognize the liability which

[1] "Universis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem in eo qui in ara crucis mori pro redemptione generis humani non expavit, nos Nicholaus, humilis abbas monasterii S. Launi de Thoarico, ord. S. Augustini, Pictavensis dyocesis, notum facimus quod sanctissimus in Christo pater ac dominus, dominus Eugenius, divina providentia papa IV ad requestam illustrissime domine, domine Margarite, Dalphine Viennensis, concessit universis Christi fidelibus, utriusque sexus, vere penitentibus et confessis qui, ab ultimis vesperis festivitatis sancte Trinitatis usque ad alias vesperas diei immediate sequentis, ecclesiam et capellam S. Sepulchri dicte monasterii visitaverint et ad reparationem et perfectionem earumdem salarium unius operarii pro una die dederint, quod quilibet ipsorum confessorem ydoneum eligere possit, qui eidem fideli omnium peccatorum suorum de quibus ore confessi et corde contriti fuerint, saltem in mortis articulo plenam remissionem auctoritate apostolica concedere valeat, sic tamen quod idem confessor de hiis de quibus fuerit alteri satisfactio impendenda eam faciend. ei iniungat." (*Bibliothèque nationale*, MS. français 6965, fol. 259.)

Margaret had incurred, and to refund the six hundred crowns of gold which the construction of her chapel had cost the abbey. Knowing, as he doubtless did, the nature of the relations that had existed between the Dauphiness and her husband, as well as the circumstances that had attended her death, he was hardly likely to make any appeal to Louis, and there is no evidence of his having done so. It was with the King himself that there seemed to be the fairest prospect of success; and it was before him that Nicholas thought it best to bring the claims of his house. But however willing Charles may have been to redeem his daughter-in-law's pledge, his own circumstances did not allow him to supply at short notice the sum required for the purpose. And moreover, partly owing to his chronic impecuniosity, and partly owing to his ineradicable dilatoriness, the prompt payment of his debts was never a characteristic feature of his. Had the Abbot been less tenacious of his rights, and less persistent in his appeals, he might never have come by his own. For fourteen years, on one plea or another, the payment of the debt was deferred; and it was not until the year 1459 that the King issued letters patent confirming the late Dauphiness's donation to the Abbey Church of Saint-Laon and giving orders for the payment of the six hundred crowns. All claims having been thus satisfied, the *Book of Hours* was then restored to him.[1]

[1] These details are to be found in a MS. preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Français 14,598), and described as "*Mémoires historiques de la ville de Thouars*,

The memory of the Princess, in whom poetry had found so ardent a votary and poets so zealous a patroness, did not lack the tribute of verse. The Vicomte de Blosseville, he who had chosen her for "his lady", and constituted himself her literary esquire, celebrated her praises in a ballade in which he claimed superiority for her over the fairest women of antiquity. It rises in no lofty flight, though it doubtless appealed to the taste of the period by the abundance of its scriptural and classical allusions. It has one redeeming feature, however, in the mournful recurrence of the touching refrain: "Je requier Dieu qu'il en veuille avoir l'ame."

Vous qui parlés de la beauté d'Elaine
Qui de Paris fut en Grèce ravie,
Et de Judit la preuse souveraine,
Par qui perdit Ollofferne la vie,
Avoir deussiez de parler plus d'envie
D'une pour qui bien devons priser l'M,
Qui en estoit par trop plus assouvie:
Je requier Dieu qu'il en veuille avoir l'ame.

rédigez par ordre de M. Lenain, intendant de Poitiers, 1742": (Le dauphin) "fit quelques voyages à Thouars qu'il regardait comme son domaine futur; cela donna occasion à la dauphine de connoistre Nicolas Godart, lors abbé de S^t^-Laon, et de fonder en son église une chapelle sous le titre du S^t^ Sépulchre pour six cent écus d'or. Cette libéralité ne quadroit guères à sa situation présente. . . . Néantmoins elle pria Godart de faire construire la chapelle à ses frais et, pour assurer son payement, elle luy déposa un livre de prières que l'on nomme vulgairement des heures: *horas quasdam speciosissimas*, ce sont les termes de la charte. Godart, sur la parolle de la princesse, dont les heures étoient plutost le signe que le gage, fit bâtir la chapelle, qui est celle qu'on nomme à présent la chapelle de la Vierge et, la dauphine étant décédée en 1445, ce fut d'abord assés inutilement qu'il fit des démarches pour estre payé du prix de la fondation; enfin les ayant réitérées en 1459, Charles VII donna des lettres patentes, par lesquelles il confirma la donnation et ordonna le payement des six cent d'écus d'or, moyennant quoy les heures furent retirées."

De cela fut Polissenne moult plaine,
Dont Achillès vouloyt faire s'amye,
Et Elisa, c'est chose bien certaine,
Que Sicheüs ne tint pas ennemye,
Qu'en rien louer nul ame ne doibt mye
Sy non après celle qui fut sans blasme,
Pour qui maint euil souvanteffoiz lermye:
Je requier Dieu qu'il en veuille avoir l'ame.

Lucresse fut de bonté la fontaine
Qu'à force prist Tarquin de Rommanie;
Hester vesqut sans reprise villaine
Qu'Asuerus prist pour avoir lignie;
Mais rien n'y font, car plus estoit fournie
De trestous biens la douce et noble dame
Que la mort a de ce monde banye:
Je requier Dieu qu'il en veuille avoir l'ame.

Que voulez vous que plus je vous en dye?
Fille de roy de daulphin fut la fame,
Trop tost la prist si griefve maladye:
Je requier Dieu qu'il en veuille avoir l'ame.[1]

A poem, which has been preserved in the *Book of Hours* of Margaret's sister, Isabella, Duchess of Brittany, and of which she is supposed to be the author, represents the dying Dauphiness as bewailing her fate, bidding a last farewell to her "very dear lord" and all her kindred, and recommending her soul to God. There is a couplet in it that obviously refers to the dissensions by which the royal house was divided against itself. The verses, set to music, became very popular, and Simon de

[1] *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XV^e siècle*, pp. 108–9.

Phares, astrologer to Charles VIII, has recorded that, in his youth, he often sang them:—[1]

La très-doulce Vierge Marie,
Veillez ceulx et celles garder
Qui orront piteuses nouvelles
Orresendroit et raconter
De Madame la Daulphine
Trespassée nouvellement.

La très-doulce Vierge Marie,
Quant la dame du hault paraige
Sentit le mal qui approchoit,
En soupirant moult tendrement
Son ame à Dieu recommendoit,
Elle et son noble linaige
De France et d'Escoce auxi,
Et par desur tretouz les autres
Le Daulphin, son loial mary.

"Adieu, Dauphin, mon très-chier Sire!"
A plourer la dame se print.
Pour vous, j'avoie la mer passée,
Où j'ai prins moult de grans plaisirs.
Si avoit trestout mon linaige
De France et d'Escosse aussi,
Car j'avoie esté mariée
Au plus noble des fleurs de lis.

Adieu! très-noble roy de France,
Père de mon loial mary,
Adieu, mon père, roy d'Escosse,
Et ma dame de mere aussi.
Adieu, fin franc duc de Bretaigne,
Frère de mon loial mary,

[1] Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 549.

Quand saurez que seray trepassée
Pour moy aurez le cueur marry.

Adieu! toutes sainctes églises,
Pape, cardinaux; cette fois,
Adieu! toute la seigneurie
De France, où est le pais courtois.
Adieu! noble royne de France,
Et toutes vos dames aussi;
Je vous prie, ma très-chière dame,
Comfortez mon loial mary.

Adieu! noble duchesse de Bourgoigne,
Dame Isabeau, o cueur courtois!
Adieu! Catherine de France,
La comtesse de Charoloys.
Adieu! duchesse de Bretaigne,
La mienne seur o cueur jolis;
Si vous povez par nulle voye,
Mettez paix en la fleur de lis!

En soupirant est trepassée
La dame dont est fait mention,
Recommendant à Dieu son ame
Pour lui prier faire pardon:
Vray Dieu de consolacion
Veillez mon ame rachater,
Car jay voy bien qu'en nulle voye
A la mort ne puis eschaper.

The author of the *Book of Pluscarden* has preserved what he calls Margaret's "*epitaph*, which was placed upon her tomb after her death, in the French tongue; only it is here translated into the Scottish tongue, by command of that lady's brother, King James II, of famous memory". The original

of the poem has not been preserved. The monk of Fyfe's version of it consists of two parts. The first is headed "Lamentacio domini Dapphini Francie pro morte uxoris sue". After the fifth stanza he breaks off with the quaint remark that "nocht withstandying thaire is mare of this lamentacioun, XVIII caupill, and in the Ansuere of Resoune als mekill, this ma suffyce; for the complant is bot fenyeit thing. Bot be caus the tother part, quhilk is the Ansuere of Resoun, is verray suthfastnes," he transcribes the eighteen ten-line stanzas of which it consists. According to Buchanan this elegy was kept by most of his countrymen even in his day. It is a rhymed homily, unexceptionable as regards the sentiments which it expresses and the lessons which it inculcates, but of very little literary merit. It is hardly probable that the 360 lines of which it consisted can ever have been engraved on a monument, and it may more reasonably be assumed that the "tumba" of the chronicler refers to what was known as a "tombeau", a collection of the laudatory verses which it was customary to write on the death of illustrious persons, and of which a copy may actually have been laid "super tumbam".[1]

[1] *The Book of Pluscarden*, bk. xi, chap. iv. To reconcile a literal interpretation of the chronicler's words with the well-known fact that there was no inscription on what was looked upon as Margaret's monument, M. Marcel Thibault suggests that the verses were engraved on a cenotaph erected in Edinburgh by James II, in memory of his sister: "D'après le clerc écossais, les vers auraient été gravés comme épitaphe sur le tombeau de Marguerite. Il faudrait, en ce cas, supposer qu'un cénotaphe aurait été construit à Edimbourg, par ordre de Jacques II." From the fact that the *Liber Pluscardensis* heads the elegy with the words, "Incipit lamentatio Dalphini, pro morte uxoris suæ, dictæ

Not the least touching tribute to the memory of the unhappy Dauphiness is to be found in the Scottish chronicler's brief account of her death: "Woe is me that I should have to write what I sorrowfully relate about her death! For Death, who snatches all living things equally without distinction of persons, snatched away that lady after a short illness, to pay the debt of nature in the bloom of youth, without issue of the royal house of France; and her unlooked-for death at Châlons, in the county of Champagne, where she lies interred, cast the gloom of overwhelming grief over the hearts of many in both France and Scotland. I, who write this, saw her every day alive playing with the King and Queen of France, and going on thus for nine years. But afterwards, at the time of the contracting of the marriage between King Henry of England and the daughter of the King of Sicily, brother of the Queen of France, I saw her, within eight days, in good health, and dead and embowelled and laid in a tomb at the corner of the high altar, on the north side, in the cathedral church of the said city of Châlons, in a leaden coffin."[1]

The charges which the Dauphiness when on her death-bed had brought against Jamet de Tillay were so grave and had become so public, and the clamours to which they gave rise were so great, that it was

Margaritæ", the same writer infers that, in Scotland, its authorship was attributed to Louis himself: "Un froid panégyrique commandé à quelque plat rimeur, et que, dans leur piété naïve pour leur princesse, les Ecossais attribuèrent au Dauphin lui-même." (*La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 550.)

[1] *Ibid.*

impossible for the King to ignore them. By letters patent he appointed Gerard le Boursier, Counsellor and Master of Requests, and Guillaume Bigot, Councillor of the High Court of Justiciary, to hold an enquiry concerning "certain words said and uttered by Jamet de Tillay with regard to most high and mighty Princess, the late lady Dauphiness". The evidence of Madame de Tucé was taken on the 11th of October. Later in the month Marguerite de Villequier, Marguerite de Hacqueville, Marguerite de Vaux, and Jacqueline de Bacqueville were heard. On the 26th Louis de Laval appeared before the commissioners. In consequence of his statement as to the insinuation made by de Tillay with regard to the part played by Prégente de Melun in her mistress's private affairs, he and the Bailiff were confronted together on the following day. But Jamet, whilst remembering other matters spoken of by them on the same occasion, was unable to recall any mention of Prégente's name.

After this confrontation there was a significant break in the proceedings, and it was not till the 1st of June, 1446, that, in terms of a new commission issued to Jean Tudert and Robert Thibaust, Jamet de Tillay was called up for examination. It was on this occasion that he gave his own version of the incident which had taken place in Margaret's room one winter evening at Sarry, and at which he had pretended to be so greatly scandalized. The enquiry was again suspended, and nearly three months were allowed to elapse before Jamet again

appeared before the commissioners. He now admitted having passed strictures on Prégente's conduct, but maintained that it was only in connection with her injudicious encouragement of her mistress's poetical vigils. Not knowing the purport of the declaration previously made by the Queen as to the conversation he had had with her on the subject of the intended departure from Châlons, his own account, careful as he was to make it appear plausible, was sufficiently different from hers to show how little reliance could be placed on his words, and to indicate what value was to be attached to his denial of having said to de Dresnay that the Dauphiness looked like a wanton, and to Nicole Chambre that she was "malade d'amours".

Details as to the last illness of the Dauphiness were given by Robert Poictevin, her confessor, by Guillaume Lotier, physician, and Jean Boutet, apothecary to the Dauphin. The depositions of the sisters, Annette and Jean de Guise, bore mainly on the incident of the 600 crowns sent as a gift to Charles Morillon. They also revealed the unseemly anxiety that had been shown, since their mistress's death, to secure some of her personal effects, and especially her letters.[1]

[1] "Jehanne de Guise, damoiselle de la Roine . . . dict oultre que le jour d'hier, après disner, ladicte Prigente et Marguerite de Salignac envoyèrent querir Annete de Guise sa sœur, ne sçavoit lors pour quoy; mais quand elle fust retournée, dit à elle qui parle que ladicte Marguerite de Salignac luy avoit dict qu'elle avoit charge de par Monseigneur le Dauphin de retrouver toutes les lettres qu'elle sçauroit de madicte dame la Dauphine, et luy demanda si elle en avoit point, et ladicte Annette luy respondi que oy, mais qu'elles estoient en son coffre qui estoit avec les besoignes de la Roine. Et pour ce ladicte

Unless the evidence even of those who seemed least inclined to incriminate Jamet de Tillay were to be wholly disregarded, unless his barefaced denials and his distorted statements were to be accepted as truth, and unless his convenient lapses of memory were to be believed in, there could be no doubt that the result of the enquiry fully justified the worst charges brought against him. If, in spite of this, no attempt was made to punish him, if he was retained at Court, and if the whole matter was allowed to drop, there can be no reasonable explanation of such a travesty of justice other than one which assumes that de Tillay had throughout acted but as an agent, and that the conviction of this had been brought home to the King. The real author of the mischief was the Dauphin Louis, and his object was to find a plausible reason for ridding himself of a wife whose tastes and temperament were incompatible with his, and of whose childlessness he made a grievance. He had not planned her death, but her death came as a relief to him, and he was not the man to find fault with the circumstances that had hastened it.

The eighteenth-century historian Duclos asserts that "Regnault de Dresnay, Louis de Laval, and others", being dissatisfied at the results of the enquiry, which they thought "injurious to the memory of the Dauphiness, would have vindicated

Marguerite luy dist qu'il falloit qu'elle en laissast la clef, pour quoy l'a laissée à une sienne compagne nommée Guillemette." (MS. *ut supra.*) This was on the 25th of August.

her honour by a duel, but Charles VII would not allow it". He mentions no authority for the statement, and it has not been possible to find any. But that it should have been made by a writer of his standing, and subsequently accepted without demur, may serve to indicate what verdict history has passed on the whole procedure.

There is an epilogue to the story of the Scottish Dauphiness. In 1479, more than thirty-four years after her death, Louis XI, then an old man and nearing the grave himself, gave effect to Margaret's wish as to her final resting-place. But knowing him as we do, we need feel no surprise at learning that his action had none of the merit which might have been attributed to it if it had been spontaneous. It was forced upon him by the perseverance with which Abbot Nicholas prosecuted the claim, which the injunctions contained in the last will and testament of the Dauphiness gave his abbey, to the possession of her remains. There is no means of discovering what influence he was, after many years of vain solicitation, at last able to exercise on the reluctant King, to extort from him the necessary order; but that official document itself supplies us with the evidence that, on the 7th of October, he received the fullest powers to effect the translation, and thus carry out the last wishes of the Dauphiness, with which her hypocritical husband pretended that he had only recently become acquainted.[1]

[1] "Louis, etc., à nostre bien amé Nicolas Godart abbé de S^t^-Laon de Thouars salut. Comme présentement nous avons délibéré faire transporter le corps de

The Abbot lost no time in complying with the order which it had taken him such long years to obtain. Accompanied by six of his monks, he left Thouars on the 19th of October. Such appreciation was shown of the honour which he had secured for Thouars, and such importance was consequently attached to the special mission on which he was setting forth, that an imposing retinue of the nobility of the district escorted him on his way. It is suggestive that on his arrival in Châlons, neither he nor his brethren were entertained by the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the cathedral. Both he and they were obliged to put up, like ordinary travellers, at the sign of the Fleur-de-Lys, and to pay Pierre Deu, the landlord, the sum of nine livres three sols for their board.[1]

nostre feüe femme, en son vivant dauphine de Viennois, de l'église cathédralle de Chaalons en Champagne où elle est ensépulturée, en une chapelle qu'elle fonda en son vivant, pour ce que par son testament et dernière volonté (ainsi que depuis n'a guerre avons sceu) elle voulut et ordonna y estre menée et ensépulturée, et pour ce que nous voulons son testament et dernière volonté estre accomplis, à cette cauze ordonnons et vous mandons bien expressément qu'en toute diligence incontinent et sans delay vous vous transportiés audit lieu de Chaalons par devers l'evesque, chanoines et chapitre de l'eglize, et leur faittes commandement et à tous autres qu'il appartiendra, qu'ils vous baillent le corps de la deffuncte étant ainsy ensépulturée en ladicte eglize que dit est, pour iceluy transporter en ensépulturer en vostre abbaye en ladicte chapelle par la manière que dessus, et à ce faire contraignez ou faittes contraindre ledit evesques, chanoines et chapitre de ladicte eglize et tous autres qu'il appartiendra par toutes voyes deües et en tel cas requises, nonobstant appellations quelconques pour lesquelles ne voulons estre différé; de ce faire vous donnons pouvoir, authorité, commission et mandement special; mandons et commandons à tous officiers, justiciers et sujets que à vous en ce faisant soit obéy. Donné au Plessis du Parc lez Tours le septième jour d'octobre l'an de grâce 1479 et de nostre Règne le dix neufième." (*Mémoires historiques de la ville de Thouars*, ut supra.)

[1] Marcel Thibault: *La Jeunesse de Louis XI*, p. 549.

The reception that Nicholas met with at the hands of the canons of the cathedral, whom he had come to deprive of what they considered an honourable trust, was not merely cold, it was actually hostile. In spite of the order of which he was the bearer, they refused to give up the body of the Dauphiness. It required the interference of the Bishop, who came in from his country residence for the express purpose, to induce them to yield compliance to the wishes of the King.[1] If the 65 sols tournois that were paid to Jean Goulin for thirteen torches of new wax, "pour allumer à la conduicte et departement du cors de feu Madame la Dauphine ",[2] afford any indication of the scale on which the funeral rites were carried out in Châlons, that part of the obsequies for which the clergy of the Cathedral were responsible must have been very seriously affected by their resentment. The official report of the proceedings states that there were taken from the vault in the cathedral three leaden vessels, covered and sealed, and respectively containing the body, the entrails, and the heart of the Princess. The three caskets were placed on a chariot covered with cloth-of-gold and edged with black velvet. It was drawn by three horses with black velvet housings.[3]

As the funeral procession neared Thouars, on the 13th of November, it was met by all the clergy,

[1] *Mémoires historiques de la ville de Thouars*, ut supra.

[2] *Annuaire de la Marne*, quoted by Marcel Thibault, *l.c.*

[3] The obituary of Châlons, quoted in the "Preuves" to the *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, vol. iii, p. 145.

both regular and secular, as well as by a great concourse of the inhabitants who had gone out into the suburbs to meet it. After a solemn service, at which Abbot Nicholas officiated pontifically, the remains of the Dauphiness were laid in a vault underneath the chapel which she had founded. That final interment took place on the 14th of November, and was followed by daily requiem masses for the next thirty days.[1]

Three years later, in the month of July, 1482, Louis XI granted letters of safeguard to the church of St. Stephen in Châlons, because, amongst other reasons, the body of his very dear and greatly-beloved wife, Margaret of Scotland, had formerly been buried there.[2] It may justifiably be assumed that the privilege was conferred rather by way of compensation for the loss which the clergy of the cathedral considered they had sustained in being deprived of the remains of the Dauphiness, than as an act of tardy reparation to the memory of the unfortunate Princess whose young life he had made a martyrdom, and whose early death was hastened by the persecution to which she was subjected with his connivance, if not, indeed, at his instigation.

[1] *Mémoires historiques de la ville de Thouars*, ut supra.

[2] "Quod in eadem ecclesia corpus quondam carissime ac dilectissime uxoris, Margarite de Scocia traditum fuit sepulture." (*Ordonnances des rois de France*, vol. xix, p. 19.)

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